

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF ENGLISH AS A MOTHER TONGUE AND SECOND LANGUAGE IN FORT COCHIN

A Thesis Submitted
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By
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to the

DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY KANPUR
NOVEMBER, 1979

Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis "A Sociolinguistic Study of English as a Mother-Tongue and a Second Language in Fort Cochin" submitted by Mrs. Fanny Gupta in partial fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, is a record of bonafide research work carried out by her under my supervision and guidance. The results embodied in this thesis have not been submitted to any other University or Institute for the award of any degree or diploma.

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CONTENTS

v

Page

Synopsis	ix
A Note on Transcription and Abbreviations	xv
CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION	
1 The Language Scene in Fort Cochin	1
2 The Theoretical Underpinning	9
2.1 Sociolinguistic Theories	12
2.2 Psycholinguistic Theories	14
2.3 Communicative Competence and Grammar	14
3 Language Learning in a Language Contact Situation - The Case of Fort Cochin	16
3.1 Bilingualism in Fort Cochin	18
3.2 Limitations in Bilingual Language Learning	19
3.3 The Role of Exposure to Target Language	21
3.4 The Role of Schools	25
3.5 The Role of Community Groups	27
4 Cultural Constraints in Language Learning - The Case of Fort Cochin English Phonology	30
5 Conclusion	34
CHAPTER TWO : THE EMERGENCE OF A BILINGUAL SOCIETY - A HISTORICAL VIEW OF FORT COCHIN	
0 Introduction	34
1 The Portuguese Period (1502-1663)	35
1.1 Educational Activity	39
1.2 Religious Policies	42
1.3 The Creation of a New Community : The Eurasians	45
2 The Dutch Period (1663-1795)	47
2.1 The Anti-Portuguese Activities	49
2.2 Cultural Contributions	50
2.3 Lasting Effects of the Dutch Rule	51
3 The British Period (1795-1947)	53
3.1 Some Early Effects	54
3.2 The New Social Order	57
3.3 The Problem of Education	59
3.4 Eurasians in British Cochin	
3.5 The Mother-tongue Dilemma	
4 The Summing-Up	

CHAPTER THREE : THE SOCIO-CULTURAL MILIEU

1	The Area of Investigation	
	1.1 The Area and its Substratum	61
	1.2 The Economy	65
	1.3 Demographic Structure and Mother-tongues	66
2	The Socio-Cultural Ethos of the Non-Eurasians	70
	2.1 Roman-Catholics, Roman-Syrians, and Protestants	71
	2.2 The Moplahs	75
	2.3 The Konkani	78
	2.4 The Ezhavas	80
3	The Users of English as a First Language: A Socio-Cultural Profile	
	3.1 Their Life-Style	81
	3.2 Attitudes to English Language	83
	3.3 Attitude to Malayalam Language and Culture	84
4	The Role of the Media	85
5	Conclusion: An Integrated Society with Shared Language Concerns	88

CHAPTER FOUR : PROFILES IN LANGUAGE EXPOSURE, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE OF P.C. COMMUNITIES

0	Introduction	92
1	The Interlanguage Survey	
	1.1 Objectives, Scope and Methodology	93
2	The Exposure Profiles	
	2.1 Scoring for Exposure	96
	2.2 The Non-Eurasian Profile	98
	2.3 The Mother-tongue Speakers of English	102
3	The Motivation Profiles	103
	3.1 Types of Motivation	103
	3.2 Index of Motivation	105
	3.3 Scoring	106
	3.4 Profile on Eurasians	107
	3.5 Profile on Non-Eurasians	108

4	The English Language Performance Profile	
4.1	Cultural Identity and Pronunciation	111
4.1.1	Intonation and Stress	112
4.1.2	Vowels and Consonants	119
4.2	Variation Across Medium of Instruction in School	124
4.2.1	Errors in the Learners' Systems	126
4.2.2	Criteria of Expanded and Reduced Systems	131
4.2.3	Performance Profile of EM and EI Students	132
4.2.4	General Characteristics of EM and EI Students' English	142
4.3	The Effect of Bilingualism and School Language Performance on E and Non-E English - A Summing Up	144
4.3.1	English-dominant Speakers and their English	146
4.3.2	Balanced Bilinguals	148
4.3.3	Malayalam-Dominant Speakers	153
5	Conclusion	156

CHAPTER FIVE : POPULAR GRAMMATICAL USAGES IN COLLOQUIAL DISCOURSE - SOME EVIDENCE OF AN INTER-LANGUAGE

0	Introduction	158
1	The Use of Co-ordination	159
1.1	The Co-ordinated Verb	159
1.2	Symmetrical Conjunctions	160
1.3	Asymmetric Conjunctions	162
1.4	The Use of Co-ordination by Fort Cochinites	163
1.5	The Influence of Malayalam	164
2	The Thin Line Between Habitual Action and Habitual Prediction	169
2.1	The Choice of Aspects in Formal and Informal Contexts	171
3	The Accommodating Progressive - <u>ing</u>	174
3.1	Deviant and Non-Deviant Uses of Stative Verbs	175
3.2	Deviant Progressive Forms and Characteristic Activity	177
4	Another Popular Form - The Versatile <u>got</u>	181
4.1	Uses of <u>get</u> as a Verb in British English	181
4.2	The Use of <u>get</u> in F.C. English	183
4.3	Deviant Usages	184

	Page
5 The Popular Verb <u>tell</u>	186
5.1 Malayalam Influence	186
5.2 As Used in Non-Deviant English	189
6 Deviant Forms Caused by Ellipsis - Some More Examples	189
7 The Use of <u>enjoy</u>	191
7.1 Utterances by E-D Speakers	191
7.2 Deviant Utterances by M-D Speakers	191
8 Miscellaneous Devices in Colloquial Style	192
8.1 The Dislocated NP (D.N.P.)	192
8.2 The Cataphoric <u>what</u>	193
8.3 Compensatory Tags	193
8.4 Affirmatory Tags	194
9 A Summing Up - Evidence of an Interlanguage	
9.1 The Influence of British English and Malayalam on F.C. English: a Resume'	195
CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION	200
APPENDIX ONE	206
APPENDIX TWO	214
BIBLIOGRAPHY	217

SYNOPSIS

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF ENGLISH AS A MOTHER-TONGUE
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The English language that is used as a mother-tongue by Eurasians in Fort Cochin is basically a language-contact phenomenon like the second language English used by Malayalam speaking non-Eurasians, and the differences between the two lie in the number and frequency of occurrence of deviant linguistic forms which may be accounted for by three local sociolinguistic factors: medium of education at school, cultural background of the speaker and degree of bilingualism. In other words, in terms of approximation to Standard English (British), being born to English in Fort Cochin offers no great advantage which is not also available to a learner of English as a second language who has English as the medium at school, has a westernised home environment, and has a fair degree of exposure to English at home and school. English as a mother-tongue is in no way comparable to English as a mother-tongue in English speaking countries. Proficiency in

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English, whether for a mother-tongue speaker or a second-language learner, is a function of these variables, unless of course, mother-tongue English is considered as a dialect in its own right and is judged by its own norms. Considering the over-all situation of English in India as a lingua-franca and as a medium of communication in the world of business, education, science, law, administration, etc., a little pocket of mother-tongue English must find it difficult to survive as a separate and distinct entity, and must, of necessity, share in the characteristics of the larger language group and be judged by the norms set by it.

To support our thesis that mother-tongue English in Fort Cochin is basically the result of a language-contact situation, we derive evidence from diverse sources like history, sociology and linguistics which makes our approach essentially inter-disciplinary.

Historical evidence shows that the language - contact situation has been the same for both the linguistic - cultural groups, Eurasians and non-Eurasians, for more than a century (1866-1979). From 1502 to 1866, Cochin Town was exclusively inhabited by Christians, members of the ruling class (Europeans: first, the Portuguese, then the Dutch, and finally the British) and both the above mentioned groups. The former used Portuguese and Malayalam and the

latter used Malayalam as their mother-tongue. During the second half of the 19th century the British brought some of the outlying areas with their Hindu-Muslim populations into what came to be known as British Cochin Municipality. After Independence this area was called Fort Cochin. Despite changes in the administrative set-up in November 1967, when Fort Cochin Municipality was amalgamated in the larger Cochin Corporation, the multi-religious complexion of the population has continued as before. The majority of the population, both Eurasians and non-Eurasians, acquired English from the same schools where the teachers included some Europeans (mostly Portuguese and Italian missionaries) and a few Anglo-Indians. The European missionaries obviously could not always have had English and it is difficult to say when and how they acquired English. The ones who have always had English in Fort Cochin were a few Anglo-Indians who came to Cochin for business purposes. A negligible number of them inter-married with the local Eurasians. These were a more recent phenomenon and too restricted in number to influence the kind of English spoken by the large body of local inhabitants.

Despite a feeling of ethnic similarity or identity between the Fort Cochin Eurasians and Anglo-Indians in general, the two groups eventually split on the issue of mother-tongue. The Anglo-Indians claimed that their mother-

tongue was English and that of many Kerala Eurasians (the majority of whom had identified with the local people) Malayalam. For socio-economic reasons primarily, but possibly also because of a feeling of ethnic affinity with the Anglo-Indians the Eurasians began to shed their Malayalee identity and 'acquire' English as their mother-tongue. Our main thesis in this work is that what they eventually acquired as their mother-tongue was 'Malayalee English' or a language - contact phenomenon, like the second language English of non-Eurasians who attended the local Anglo-Indian schools (English Medium schools). The reason offered is that they acquired this mother-tongue as one acquired a second language and did not have a claim to it by heredity.

A sociological study of the two communities reveals a common profile for both cultural groups. There are no sharp socio-economic disparities. A stagnant economy for a considerable period of time (19th century and the first half of the 20th century) divided the entire community of Fort Cochin into an upper middle and a lower middle class, with many of the less privileged ones preferring a Marxist interpretation of their conditions. Attitudes towards the learning of English and Malayalam are primarily shaped by the understanding of the means towards greater socio-economic progress. The upper middle class, comprising both the Eurasians and

the non-Eurasians, favours the learning of English, and the rest of the society emulates them. As a result, the non-E's, with their larger numbers, now send more children to the English Medium schools, and the control of some of these schools is also passing to them. An inevitable side-result of this is the increasing regionalisation of English in these schools.

The crucial difference between the two communities is now confined to the roles the two languages play in their lives. The Eurasians use English for primary socialisation, the non-E's for secondary socialisation. But even this distinction is not very sharp: there are non-E's who use English for primary socialisation and E's who use it secondarily although their numbers are very few. Linguistically, therefore, the distinction has to be a tripartite one, between English-dominant bilinguals, balanced bilinguals and Malayalam-dominant bilinguals, rather than between English-as-mother-tongue speakers and English-as-a-second-language speakers.

An interlanguage survey carried out to verify the above hypothesis revealed psycho-linguistic and socio-psychological factors which are in accordance with our interpretation. Using the notions of communicative competence, L2 = L1 learning hypothesis, and various

learning strategies from psycholinguistics and the notion of affective factors in language learning, we are able to study the language environment of Fort Cochin where English serves as the target language and Malayalam as the source language for all groups. The relative weightages attached to exposure to language versus class-room teaching by applied linguists are also seen to be validated by the study. In this connection the role played by English Medium schools is contrasted with the role played by Malayalam schools and it is noticed that mainly due to the importance attached to exposure to English in meaningful contexts in the former, their products end up acquiring an expanded system while the products of Malayalam Medium schools have to make do with a reduced system of English.

Such differences as do exist in the cultural backgrounds of the two communities are shown to have some effect on pronunciation rather than grammar. Eurasians have a more 'neutral' pronunciation irrespective of their language dominance. However, non-Eurasians may also acquire this neutral pronunciation as a result of exposure. Syntax and lexis remain more or less impervious to such cultural influences. Eurasians and non-Eurasians both use deviant forms, and the difference is only one of degree. The strategies which lead to such deviant forms are also the same in both cases, with overgeneralisation of target language rules playing the major role and inter-lingual identifications coming a close second.

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION AND ABBREVIATIONS

To facilitate typing we have had to use new symbols instead of some of the standard ones in R.P. New symbols have also been used to transcribe Malayalam sounds. (wherever the same symbols are used for English and Malayalam they are understood to have nearly the same value).

New symbols used for sounds in R.P.

ʌ	as in <u>h</u> at
o	as in <u>g</u> ot
o:	as in <u>s</u> aw
a	as in <u>c</u> up
c	as in <u>ch</u> in
j	as in <u>j</u> udge
T	as in <u>th</u> in
D	as in <u>th</u> en
š	as in <u>sh</u> e
z	as in <u>vi</u> sion
ŋ	as in <u>ki</u> ng

Symbols used for a number of Malayalam consonants which are not present in R.P.

Plosives	-	<u>t</u> , <u>d</u> (both are dentals); <u>ṭ</u> , <u>ḍ</u> (both are retroflex)
Nasals	-	<u>n</u> (dental); N (retroflex); <u>ɲ</u> (palatal)
Lateral	-	L (retroflex)

Fricative	- S (retroflex); H (velar)
Continuant	- Y (retroflex); V (labiodental)
Flapped	- R (retroflex)

Abbreviations :

AI	- Anglo-Indians
BB	- Balanced bilinguals
BE	- British English
E-D	- English-dominant
E's	- Eurasians
EM	- English medium
F.C.	- Fort Cochin
Non-E's	- Non-Eurasians
M-D	- Malayalam-dominant
MM	- Malayalam medium
TL	- Target Language (English)

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" ... The linguist who makes theories
about language influence but neglects
to account for the socio-cultural
setting of the language contact leaves
his study suspended, as it were,
in mid-air ... "

Uriel Weinreich

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1. THE LANGUAGE SCENE IN FORT COCHIN

The present work is a study of the somewhat unusual linguistic situation obtaining in the town of Fort Cochin, particularly with respect to the position of English as spoken by the local inhabitants. What makes the situation with regard to English interesting in this town is the existence, side by side, of English as a first as well as a second language. Historically, as we shall see in Chapter Two, Cochin had also been exposed to Portuguese and Dutch, but with the arrival of the British in 1795, these languages receded in their influence and English assumed a dominant status by the side of the regional language, Malayalam. Even the Eurasians (E's), who were an orthodox Roman Catholic group with roots in Malayalee-Portuguese culture, began to use English as a first language. Portuguese, which was, till the arrival of the English, an important lingua-franca, became a dead language. (A very few Eurasians of the old generation still use a corrupted form of this language among themselves).

Side by side with the Eurasians there also live the local Malayalees most of whom, like the former, are educated but use

English only as a second language. Their use of English in day-to-day life is no more extensive than is normally implied in a second language context of English in India. On account of the fact that it is geographically a small and compact area (one square mile) and also on account of the mixing between the communities, especially the Malayalee Catholics and the Eurasians, for as long a period of time as five centuries, there was, first, close contact between Portuguese and Malayalam and afterwards, between English and Malayalam. With the growth of mass literacy from the early decades of this century, English was also used among tradesmen, shopkeepers and public servants. Though not always college-educated, these still have enough of English to meet the contingencies of the situation. Next to the majority community of Malayalee Christians, there are the Muslim Moplahs and the Ezhavas who use Malayalam as a mother tongue and English as a second language. The Konkarnies and the Pathans use Malayalam as a necessary additional language but also acquire English for job purposes or education.

Remarkably enough, English came to Fort Cochin through the schools and not through the market-place as in other ex-colonial areas like the West Indies or the Bahamas, where there were no social and educational facilities for the natives and the English language survived either as a pidgin

or a creole. The situation becomes unusual owing to the fact that it is from these schools that the Eurasians acquired their English and not through heredity as in the case of the Anglo-Indians. English therefore became an "acquired" mother-tongue rather than an "inherited" one, which is very unusual in the case of mother-tongues.

It is the existence of English as a deliberately acquired mother-tongue and a second language in a predominantly Malayalee environment that makes the situation, linguistically, an interesting subject of investigation. Several teasing questions arise in the study of such a community: What exactly is the status of the mother-tongue English acquired from a non-British speaker environment, and how does it compare with second language English acquired by others from nearly the same sources? How does first-language English of Fort Cochin compare with the English spoken by the Anglo-Indians who inherited the language from the British, with British English itself, and other varieties of English spoken in this country? Does mother-tongue English share some pan-Indian features with the English taught in the public and English medium (EM) schools? What is the extent of Malayalam language influence in first and second language English in this town? To what extent has compound bilingualism affected the deviations from the standard in the local varieties of speech? What is the cultural profile

of the people claiming English as their first language? How has progressive Indianisation affected this minority and their attitudes towards the regional language as compared to English? What is their self-image, their image of non-English speaking Malayalees, and of those who do speak the language? Quite as important are the attitudes of these others towards the Eurasians. Do they try to emulate them or are they critical of them? What is their attitude towards English in general? Is it similar to or very different from the attitudes held towards the language elsewhere, where there are no first language speakers but otherwise English enjoys a high social and educational status? Finally, how do these attitudes, combined with opportunities for language exposure, affect the learning of English in our schools?

These are interesting and important questions. They are interesting because the answers we may provide have a profound bearing on the theoretical issues of language study, e.g., linguistic variation and its determinants, the importance of socio-cultural factors in the study of language varieties, the socio-psychological influence on language-learning orientation, etc. In addition, the study may throw up interesting side-light on the fortunes of English in post-colonial areas where often the loyalties are divided between two cultural ideals. These questions are also important because data on

local varieties of English in India are necessary for finding out the structure of Indian English which as yet remains inexplicitly defined. They are also important because proficiency or deficiency in English language performance in India is related very much to conditions of learning in schools. Finally, it may be said that these questions are important because both mother-tongue and second-language speakers of English must eventually choose the type of world they want for themselves and their children.

It is possible to study the Fort Cochin linguistic scene from various angles. Central to our study is the view of an unusual language-contact situation in which the minority Eurasian community tried, in conditions of political and economic insecurity, to safeguard its identity by merging with the Anglo-Indians of India and thereby adopting English, the new language of power and prestige, as its mother-tongue. To preserve this new identity against the neutralizing forces of the overwhelmingly large Malayalee-cultural group, the majority of whom shared its religion and customs, was a very difficult task (the Eurasians are at present 8.3% against 67% of the Malayalee mother-tongue speakers). Being born to the Eurasian community in Fort Cochin offers no great advantage that is not available to the communities that learn English as a second language.

In Fort Cochin, English came to the larger population when the Catholic missionaries opened two high schools in 1878 and 1889, one for girls and the other for boys. Two more schools were added in 1943 and 1945, and now there were two high schools where the medium of instruction was English, and two where it was Malayalam. Many non-Eurasians (non-E's) also attended the EM schools, and this was the beginning of the switch-over from Portuguese and Malayalam to English. Schools where English was used as the medium were rare in Kerala as a whole, and as time went on, many other members came into the Eurasian community from outside Fort Cochin who did not know any English. While Eurasians who spoke very little Malayalam managed to protect their English from many of the regional language influences, the Eurasians who spoke Malayalam most of the time and English only occasionally gradually began to acquire many deviations in speech. These were also shared by those non-Eurasians who learned very little English in Malayalam Medium (MM) schools. The latter additionally used a pronunciation which was highly regionalised. The Eurasians, irrespective of the amount of formal education acquired, seemed to use a more neutral pronunciation. There were also non-E's who acquired from the English medium schools the grammatical and phonological patterns of the first-language speakers of the English-dominant (E-D) group. Linguistically, therefore, we get a

tripartite division between English-dominant speakers, balanced bilinguals (BB) and Malayalam-dominant (M-D) speakers, and not a two-fold division between English-as-a-first-language and English-as-a-second-language speakers. As a rule, the members of the Eurasian community fit into the first two categories. There are some who fit into the third category in grammar but in pronunciation seem to be more neutral. The non-Eurasians generally fit into the second and third categories, although in rare cases there are those who conform to the first category. One fact seems to be invariably true of all the products of the Malayalam schools, both private and government owned, and that is the highly regionalised accent and a syllable-timed rhythm which makes a striking contrast with the more neutral and stress-timed rhythm of the Eurasians. In short, from the point of view of approximation to British English one could say that proficiency in mother-tongue English in Fort Cochin is as in the case of second language English, a function of the variables such as medium of education, cultural background, and degree of bilingualism of the speakers.

Socio-linguists of a certain persuasion may spend a lot of time quibbling over the exact labels to describe this linguistic situation. Can we speak of a standard and a non-standard variety of English here? If we do, our basis of

judgement can only be an assumed degree of closeness of the local varieties of English to the standard elsewhere, most probably the British standard. It need not be denied that an implicit reference to such a standard must exist to make our description possible. It is also possible to argue that the speakers of English as a first language establish the standard in Fort Cochin, but, unless this is so by a fiat, we must contend with the possibility that not all first language English speakers are speakers of the standard language, nor, for that matter, is the English taught in schools everywhere the standard language.

It is enough for our purposes to regard the local varieties simply as varieties which vary in the degree of their openness to local influences. What makes the description of these varieties interesting is not the linguistic characterisation of the variation so much as the various sociological, psychological and socio-psychological variables that account for these differences in the degree of variation; in other words not the variation itself, but the causes and consequences of variation.

It need hardly be stated at this stage that our ideological position is that of sociolinguistic liberalism. We not only think that linguistic variation is good but that it must be understood in the light of socio-linguistic information. The doctrine of linguistic snobbery is long dead, but the task

of providing a scientific framework to the principle of dialectal equality has only been accomplished recently. The socio-linguistic effort in this direction has been accompanied by a socio-psychological effort in another dimension which is involved in our study - the dimension of second language learning. In the following section we shall try to spell out these positions in somewhat limited detail.

2. THE THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING

2.1 SOCIOLINGUISTIC THEORIES

Current studies in sociolinguistics provide us with a number of examples to show that different dialects are systematic and logical and may be understood only in the context of sociolinguistic information (Labov 1965 & 1969, Nemser 1971, Selinker 1972, Jain 1974, Verma 1978). These different language systems are equally valid for the specific needs of the users. Basic to this sociolinguistic approach is the theory of communicative competence (Hymes 1970) according to which every human being is endowed with the ability to understand, produce, learn, and use, in appropriate situations, a language or languages in a homogeneous or heterogeneous society. This theory permits us to draw upon a wide range of disciplines such as linguistics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, etc. to explain the phenomena of cross-cultural language varieties.

William Labov (1965) showed how phonological characteristics within a speech community cannot be accounted for without taking into consideration sociological factors. He was able to predict the presence and absence of post-vocalic /r/ in terms of the New Yorker's social class, age, speech situation, and his linguistic insecurity index. Phonological features might be expected to be a case of perception and cognition determined by purely linguistic factors. But this study shows that the ability to perceive distinctions is determined largely by the social significance of the distinction to the listener.

The important part played by socio-psychological factors like attitudes and motivation in language learning has been shown in the language experiments conducted by scholars such as Lambert and Gardner (1959), Lambert (1968), and in studies such as those of Nida (1959). They have provided evidence to the effect that the motivation to learn is determined by the learner's attitudes and orientation towards the target language (TL) and the TL community. This orientation is instrumental in form if the purposes of language study reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement, such as going ahead in one's occupation, and is integrative if the subject is oriented to learn more about the other cultural community as if he desired to become a potential member of the group.

In the earlier studies in language learning influenced by transformational grammar, there was an emphasis on a "critical period" (Lenneberg 1967) when effective language learning was generally understood to be promoted by cerebral plasticity. Language learning was believed to begin around the age of two and to decline with maturation in the early teens. Later this view was modified by evidence that first language acquisition is possible even with a post-pubescent brain (Krashen 1973). But the period of maturation was nevertheless very important because of the development of intelligence and the setting in of ego boundaries. These two factors could impede second language learning at the stage when the first language had already been mastered. The older children, for instance, tend to compare the second language that they are learning with the first language they have already acquired. As a result of this they under-differentiate the target language rules or they overgeneralize them. Palmer (1922) has pointed out cases of older children in immigrant societies who had reached the age of intelligence and who spoke with an accent which was not acquired by their younger relations living in the same environment. At this relatively more mature period of language acquisition, the individual's sensitivity to himself and to his surroundings becomes more acute. As Larsen and Smalley (1972) put it, when "puberty approaches and the individual is more concerned with the

consolidation of his personality, it apparently becomes more difficult for him to submit to new norms which a second language requires". That the ability to acquire native-like pronunciation is greatly reduced by the setting in of ego boundaries during this maturational period has also been borne out by Guiora (1972b).

The handicap that adult learners suffer from may be removed by the adoption of a surrogate family as, for instance, is done by host countries for foreign students. The individual's feelings of empathy for the TL are greatly enhanced when his living experiences with the TL group are rewarding. There is a possibility that along with greater exposure to English at all levels of communication abroad, Indian scholars who stay there for considerable periods of time acquire a close or very close approximation to the language depending on their living experiences and nature of orientation towards the TL community.

2.2 PSYCHOLINGUISTIC THEORIES

From psychology again, applied linguists have borrowed the concept of learning strategies. According to Reibel (1969) "innate learning principles and their application constitute the learner's language learning strategy". These strategies are culture-bound and may be seen in the kind of errors or deviations present in learners' systems, utility systems, pidgins, creoles, in the bilingual varieties of a language and in the dialects of a language.

Numerous studies in the performance of child and adult learners of English have shown the working of strategies like overgeneralisation of TL rules and underdifferentiation of phonological items and semantic features in the TL. There is also some evidence to show that the learner tends to select the language systems of a person who matches his own socio-economic status (Reibel, 1969). The adult who wishes to model himself on a native-speaker of the language will not allow into his performance vernacular features or deviations unless he is forced to do so by factors over which he has no control. In the Fort Cochin language-contact situation for instance, it may be observed that the learner tends to stabilize in his speech those items, rules and sub-systems which share equivalent or near-equivalent meanings with the vernacular. (See Chapter Five).

Looked at from a prescriptive standpoint, the mistakes a learner makes have to be eradicated. From a psycholinguistic point of view the learner is actively hypothesizing about the TL rules and his errors are an indication of a developing system of rules that the child or adult has internalised at that stage of learning. In the case of adults the sort of mistakes that result from the transfer of a native language rule to the TL is not a negative sign of learning but a positive one: it indicates that the learner has in the absence of sufficient language data, used a native language

rule in place of the TL rule. The use of native language items and rules may therefore be viewed as a part of the creativity involved in coping with a limited language corpus. This is the argument that has been used by Dulay and Burt in "You Can't Learn Without Goofing: An Analysis of Children's Second Language Errors", to support their hypothesis that L2 Acquisition = L1 Acquisition (Dulay and Burt 1973).

By incorporating the notion of language learning strategies and their culture-boundedness, Nemser (1971), Corder (1971) and Selinker (1972) arrived independently at the theory of "autonomous", "approximate" or "interlanguage" systems. These systems have been shown to vary in character according to the proficiency level, level of experience and communicative function and living characteristics of the learners. Thus different dialect and regional varieties of a language are systematic and logical and may be understood as resulting from a complex interaction between psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors.

2.3 COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE AND GRAMMAR

From the study of monolingual, bilingual and second language learners' performance it has been shown that language acquisition proceeds in a systematic fashion as a hypothesis-testing activity. The child first produces sentences which honour the basic grammatical relations while ignoring the

structures superimposed on them by the transformational or more complex rules that are to be acquired later. The earliest samples of speech performance show the presence of a set of universal semantic relations represented by order relationships peculiar to that language. Some of these semantic-syntactic relations are those of negation, agent-action, action-object, attribution, location, identification and possession, (Brown 1973). It is significant that in utility systems and reduced grammars acquired for functional purposes the adult shows

an internalization of these basic semantic-syntactic relations as does a child learning his first language. At about the age of three and a half years, the child's system provides evidence of an active hypothesis-testing activity in the number of errors that he commits in the more complex grammatical areas such as past tense, regular and irregular forms in English, in the use and omission of possessive functors and in the mixing up of conjugation rules. With maturity the child makes more language-specific differentiations and uses more complex forms of sentences. Initial hypotheses are thus revised to approximate the system of the model he has selected. In functional systems the end point is reached where the speaker feels he has conveyed the message for the particular job in hand. There is no incentive at all for the speaker to reach for new levels in his learning such as higher socio-economic status or membership in the TL group.

In bilingual language learning, the systems indicate that rules for the generation of sentences in two or more languages by the same speaker may belong to a common core with those specific to a particular code tagged on as such through a process of differentiation. Differentiation of two or more codes, according to Swain (1971), is not significantly more difficult for the bilingual than it is for the monolinguals switching from one dialect to another. Structures shared by the two languages are acquired at approximately the same time. The linguistically more complex ones are learned later. Ravem (1968) provides data on differentiation from the speech of a 6 year old who followed the English rule for some items and Norwegian for others and otherwise developed an intermediate position of his own. From all the above instances one finds sufficient evidence to suggest that language learning processes for monolinguals, bilinguals and second language learners are not very much different from one another.

3. LANGUAGE LEARNING IN A LANGUAGE-CONTACT SITUATION - THE CASE OF FORT COCHIN

3.1 BILINGUALISM IN FORT COCHIN

In Fort Cochin we get three categories of bilinguals: there are the English-dominant speakers who are mostly the Eurasians. There are very few non-Eurasians in this category. These E-D speakers are those who use very little Malayalam if they can

help it, and their performance in spoken English is closer to British English in grammar, vocabulary and phonology than that of the others. The second category consists of both E's and non-E's who use English and Malayalam for purposes of socialisation with relatives, friends and neighbours. In this category, the non-E's do not use English as a home language, but a large number of E's use both languages indiscriminately; Under pressure to communicate with maximum comprehension and ease, they switch from one language to the other and through the years they have developed some deviant forms of grammatical usage which seem to be the result of two prominent strategies of language learning: overgeneralisation of TL rules on the basis of analogy and incorporation of semantic-syntactic features of Malayalam in some of its sub-systems. The first two groups of speakers are products of EM schools, and their pronunciation patterns are not dissimilar.

The third category of bilinguals comprises mostly of non-E's who have acquired a restricted knowledge of English from MM schools. It is rarely that one finds E's in this category; Malayalam is their primary language of socialisation and they manage to learn enough English to meet their professional requirements or for the purposes of higher education. A definite problem arises for students of this group when they go for higher education. For a couple of years they find it difficult to cope with college where the medium of instruction

is English. This group of speakers uses deviant forms of grammar more frequently than the second group. Their pronunciation is highly regionalized and the rhythm of speech syllable-timed.

3.2 LIMITATIONS IN BILINGUAL LANGUAGE LEARNING

In environments where the language to be learned is the native language, learners are generally exposed to sufficient amount of language data which enables them to revise their initial hypotheses and improve their speech performance till the language is mastered. But children will not acquire a mastery of even their mother-tongue if there is no sufficient amount of meaningful exposure to it. This happens when the family has to settle down in a different part of the country for job purposes. Thus Malayalee children living in North India speak better Hindi than Malayalam and may possess only limited competence in their mother-tongue. The conditions for learning the language become more complicated when the TL is a non-indigenous one like English. Most of the time the language corpus to which the learner is exposed is insufficient to enable the learner to closely approximate the standard desired.

In Fort Cochin, as we shall see in Chapter Two, socio-cultural pressures make a considerable number of Eurasians into fluent bilinguals. Compound bilingualism has crept into their

speech patterns. Language-specific differentiations in meanings of lexical items and in the use of grammatical rules in English are sometimes ignored and interlingual identifications have become somewhat marked. Thus in the speech patterns of the mother-tongue speakers of English there are stabilised deviations from the standard language (British English). The frequency of these may be noted in the second category of speakers and it increases in the third category of speakers. Such deviations are much fewer in the speech performance of the E-D speakers.

3.3 THE ROLE OF EXPOSURE TO TARGET LANGUAGE

In a language-contact situation such as the one we are investigating, a learner does not get a fair chance to master the TL (in this case English) if he is limited to an environment consisting of the classroom, teacher-models, text books and exercises supported with methods of teaching which lay great store by translation and drill and if even this environment is confined to a few short periods a week. Particularly if the bits of language learned are not meaningfully used in various types of purposeful activity, the chances are that the amount of learning will be just sufficient for the students to pass the tests, and not enough to face higher education in college or even job situations where sometimes people from different regions and backgrounds use English as the medium of communication. In short, what we wish to emphasize is the necessity of a long and meaningful exposure to a TL if it has to be adequately mastered.

In this context we may quote what Leonard Newmark (1973) put very succinctly in the following words: "... from the largest body of empirical endeavour-all native learners versus all taught (those who learn English from schools) learners we can induce evident facts: systematic attention to grammatical form of utterances is neither a necessary condition nor a sufficient one for successful language learning. That it is not necessary is demonstrated by the native learners' success without it. That it is not sufficient is demonstrated by the typical classroom student's lack of success with it".

Historical accidents brought English to the Indian sub-continent and established it as the lingua-franca. Even after independence, political exigencies continued to support the status of English as one of the two link languages, though the facilities for learning it didn't improve substantially for the mass of students. In the Indian context it is only Public and Missionary EM schools, including Anglo-Indian schools (D'Souza, A., 1968), which generally provided the closest environment to the native-speaker one. In these schools it is generally expected that authorities strictly enforce the use of English by students, teachers and other employees. Students are therefore compelled to hear the language and to use it in innumerable meaningful contexts such as the playground, for concerts, in drama, in singing, and in social get-togethers. Sufficient opportunities are therefore available even for

those who are not particularly brilliant in academics to acquire a fair mastery of the language. Side by side, the authorities provide the students with adequate models for teaching them the language.

3.3 THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS

In Fort Cochin, the Anglo-Indian schools, St. Mary's Convent Anglo-Indian Girls' High School, and St. John de Britto Anglo-Indian Boys' High School are the chief sources for learning English in the area. Ever since the last decade of the 19th century, Santa Cruz Boys' High School imparted education through English to men but in 1945 Britto's took up this task while Santa Cruz switched to the Malayalam medium. Within an area of one square mile, and for over a century, these schools have provided the opportunity for a gradual switch-over from Portuguese and Malayalam to English for the Eurasians.

The Church authorities collaborated with the two powerful cultural groups in establishing these two different types of schools to support their slightly different life-styles. It is indeed interesting to note that one congregation of sisters, the Canossian Sisters of Charity, ran both types of schools. The Malayalam medium school for girls, Fatima Convent, was specifically established in answer to a demand for the education of the large mass of non-Eurasian girls, for

St. Mary's Convent in the beginning admitted mostly Europeans or Eurasians. The same congregation runs another school in Vypeen where many Eurasians used to live in pre-independence days. These schools continue to be extensions of the cultural expectations of the respective communities even today.

Additionally, a good number of non-E Protestant, Muslim and Hindu families began to send their children to the Anglo-Indian (AI) schools. This tendency has increased with time, helped no doubt by the dwindling numbers of Eurasians. While in pre-Independence days AI schools were praised for their discipline but criticized for their inability to impart a mastery of the Indian languages (D'Souza 1968), in recent years, Malayalee culture and patterns of language have slowly begun to creep into the AI school ethos and language. When the administration of one of the schools was taken over by non-E's, the pace of Malayalamisation was accelerated.

The mass of students in Fort Cochin, however acquire English from the Malayalam medium schools, where it is the third language. These schools start teaching English to students at an age when they have already mastered their first language. Having reached the threshold of puberty and the age of intelligence they begin to activate two obstacles to natural language-learning: one, a feeling of self-consciousness and two, the use of their intelligence. These two factors along with the fact that their teacher models are

non-E begin to influence the kind of language they acquire. On the whole the productive performance in English of students in these schools is inferior to that of students in the other schools. Because old forms of grammar have not been meaningfully learned, rote-memorised forms are very common in their spoken as well as written English (see Section 4.2 in Chapter Four).

The English language performance of school and college students has been the subject of study by Indian sociolinguists, who have pointed out the systematic nature of the errors. The possibility of there being pan-Indian deviant (or variant) features are being explored by them. In the field of spoken Indian English, R.K. Bansal (1969) is of the opinion that Indian English (I.E.) as spoken by educated Indians does not differ radically from native English in grammar and vocabulary, but that in pronunciation I.E. is different from British or American English. The term "educated" will have to be interpreted in the light of our discussions as referring to those speakers who are products of EM schools, or of regional language schools but who have expanded their inadequate English by interacting with a wider circle of speakers who have an adequate mastery of the language. These adequate speakers will also include members belonging to English speaking communities such as Anglo-Indians or urban groups consisting of members from various regions who do not know any

lingua-franca other than English. While we submit that the English of these "educated" Indians does not radically differ from native English in grammar and vocabulary, we also suggest the possibility of frequent recurrence of certain grammatical and lexical patterns in the English speech of these adequate speakers, especially the balanced bilinguals which can only be explained by their resemblance to patterns obtaining in the Indian languages spoken as mother-tongue by these speakers. C.J. Daswani (1978) suggests something of this kind when he says that "the peculiarities of IE are a result of an intricate blending of the semantic-syntactic systems of English and the Indian II's" (regional languages). It is partly with this in mind that we have undertaken an analysis of the popular sub-systems of grammar in Fort Cochin English in Chapter Five.

In the light of the above discussion of the role of exposure to TL and the part played by the schools, we also observe that the speech performance of EM products in Fort Cochin is closer to that of native speakers than the performance of the others. The errors in the learners' systems of EM children may be to some extent compared to developmental errors in the learners' systems of native speakers, such as those that occur on account of the overgeneralisation of conjugational and tense rules, the omission and mixing up of possessive forms. The learners' systems in MM schools show these

as well as other regular errors such as the omission of the copula (which is a feature of child grammar and interestingly enough of Pidgins) and violation of rules in the use of prepositions and articles. Even at the senior class levels, the range of syntactic forms is limited unlike in the case of EM students. The same may be said of lexical items (see Section 4.2, Chapter Four).

3.5 THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY GROUPS

In the order of importance we have put the schools on top of the list of factors which play an important role in Fort Cochin English. We wish to repeat what we have said earlier that this is because even the first language speakers depend on EM schools to provide them with an adequate mastery of the language. The performance of those who have not acquired it from EM schools (for instance members of the Eurasian group who entered the F.C. society from outside Cochin and were nativised in speech and behaviour) may not be termed adequate.

Next to the schools, in the order of importance, we suggest that the environments closest to the native-speaker environment are the minority groups such as the Anglo-Indians, families that share socio-cultural and religious identity such as Mangalorean Christians, Goans and Kerala Eurasians who are educated in EM schools, and families that belong to an

internationally mobile class of scholars, diplomats, executives, businessmen, job-seekers, and the like.

Anglo-Indians are historically descendants of British-Indian and British-Eurasian intermarriages (Desouza 1968). They seldom use an Indian language other than English. Their attempts to use the regional language are usually not strongly motivated. Their pronunciation is much closer to R.P. than that of Fort Cochin Eurasians. Their cultural orientation from our own observations is pro-western unlike that of the large mass of E's in Kerala who have integrated with the masses. Although Frank Anthony tried to instil in them a sense of Indianness, the attempt seems to have been only partially successful. The effort to integrate emotionally with the Indian masses seems to be lacking in them. This perhaps would have been more easily achieved if Anthony had encouraged the learning of Indian languages more and not concentrated so much on English.

As contrasted with the Anglo-Indians, the Mangalorean Christians, Goans and Kerala Eurasians seem to prefer the use of English to their original mother-tongues perhaps because of the fact that they generally receive their education in good EM schools. They tend to socialize with one another because of commonness of interests, religion, and a progressive outlook blended with sufficient orthodoxy inherited from Roman

Catholicism. The older generations use Konkani and Malayalam quite frequently. There is a deep emotional attachment to Indian norms of life which blend with Orthodox Christianity.

The third category of speakers (viz. job-seekers, scholars, etc.) does not use English as a first language for reasons of community-identity but possibly because of economic motivation and the convenience attached to the knowledge of an international language. Cultural integration with the English speaking communities inside and outside the country may come later as a result of personal living characteristics and the need to adjust to new environments during the course of their careers. Their families naturally become part of this linguistic-cultural metamorphosis.

4. CULTURAL CONSTRAINTS IN LANGUAGE-LEARNING: THE CASE OF FORT COCHIN ENGLISH PHONOLOGY

Human perception is functionally selective. Thus the child's imitation of his peer group in articulating the sounds of the TL is motivated by the drive to become a member of the peer group (friends). Parents who migrate to new regions in India are witness to the interesting phenomenon of how their children learn the regional language and speak it with correct native-speaker proficiency. It also seems to be the case that the closer one wishes to grow as a potential member of the TL group, the more perceptive one becomes about the TL

imitating the finer points of grammatical and phonological differentiations. It also happens that members of the TL community protect their language carefully against interference from languages with which it is in contact. Unconscious rejection of a language with which one is in contact may lead to very little learning too. Eugene Nida (1959) has provided several examples of rejection of a second language because of a lack of identification and even resentment against the language of the alien culture group.

Following the argument that perception is functionally selective, it logically follows that when one needs to change group membership for various reasons, one's perceptions of the language of the new group grow keener and some re-organisation of the same takes place with more attention being given to the finer points of differentiation between the two languages in contact. The period of phonological and grammatical restructuring may continue till the speaker feels that enough has been learned to be socially at ease with the TL community.

Children from non-English speaking Indian homes have been known to attend prestigious EM schools at a very young age when they are not conscious of discriminations in community status and in culture. They acquire the accents of the speaker-models (sometimes British speakers), with remarkable rapidity. The finished products of these schools may find

their membership in their original regional language group somewhat modified by the personality changes which have gradually taken place along with their mastery of English. In Indian colleges, where the majority of students are products of regional language schools, it is not uncommon to see students of these EM groups stand out as different from others in some aspects of behaviour and their fluency in English. They even evoke unfavourable reactions from the others because of their tendency to stay aloof from them.

In Fort Cochin the most westernised of the E's do not speak R.P. A few Fort Cochinites use a pronunciation close to R.P. because of the fact that they studied under British teachers in places like Ootacamund. The Eurasian group uses a pronunciation somewhat like the one C.I.E.F.L. terms Indian English. We have termed it a "neutral" pronunciation because when it is compared with the pronunciation of the M-D non-E's it shows no strongly marked regional features. Sentence melody, or the intonation pattern of a language, is what children learn first of all. They may be heard to produce perfect imitations of intonation patterns even before they begin to use simple two-word sentences. Though the first of the prosodies to be acquired, is the last to be changed. In our contact with two hundred and more Fort Cochinites we did not find a single instance of all-rise and rise-fall as it is used by the British. The

local intonation patterns for both English and Malayalam seem to be the same. There is a pattern of rise and fall peculiar to local Malayalam. It may be heard in the English of even E-D E's at times (See Section 4.1 in Chapter Four).

Rhythm and stress are important for the intelligibility of English (Bansal 1969) especially when native speakers of English are involved in the conversation. A lot of importance is given to professional guidance in singing and recitation in the necessary classes in good English medium schools, where the sing-song patterns so common in some schools are carefully guarded against. This used to be the case in Fort Cochin Anglo-Indian schools. But there is no conscious awareness of the differences in the phonological features of English and Malayalam. With the increasing number of non-E's in these schools, it is not difficult to predict the direction which the changes will take.

5. CONCLUSION

We have been trying to argue in this introductory chapter that English which is used both as a mother-tongue and a second language in Fort Cochin, is a product of the overall phenomenon of Indian English in a language-contact situation where the societal structures are maintained by non-native speakers of English. In other words, central to our thesis is the assumption that English used as a mother-tongue in Fort Cochin is

similar to English used as second language here. Proficiency in each is a function of the important variables such as medium of education, cultural background and degree of bilingualism of the speakers. Historical and sociological facts provide evidence to show that both groups, the E's and the non-E's acquired English at the same time and from nearly the same sources; sociological facts show the neutralisation of the differences between the two groups. In addition, our arguments were based on three important theoretical assumptions from sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics :- 1) man is endowed with the ability to understand, produce, learn and use appropriately one or more languages in a heterogeneous community of speakers. 2) Underlying this general communicative competence is the ability to learn languages which consists of strategies of learning or principles of language learning combined with their application. The most important of these in the development of Fort Cochin varieties of English seems to be the over-generalisation of English language rules, selection of the system of the speakers who equal the socio-economic status of the learners and the making of inter-lingual identifications and stabilizing them in their productive competence through frequency of use. It is the application of these strategies as affected by sociolinguistic variables such as medium of education at school, cultural background, and degree of bilingualism that produces

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the different local varieties of English. 3) At different stages of learning, the speaker internalizes an approximate or interlanguage system. This is applicable to monolingual, bilingual and second language learning.

Interacting with the input into the learners's brain are motivational factors such as empathy for the TL and favourable attitudes towards the TL community. But what is especially relevant for approximation to the standard envisaged, more than anything else, is a long period of meaningful exposure to the TL. This is provided in our language-contact situation by the EM Anglo-Indian schools, next by the Eurasian homes, and to some extent by job situations and opportunities for higher education. The Malayalam schools fail to provide the learner with an adequate exposure to English.

Finally the differences between the speech performance of mother-tongue speakers of English and second-language speakers lie in the number and frequency of use of deviant phonological and grammatical forms. Deviant grammatical forms are the least in the English of the English Dominant E's, more in the group of E's and non-E's who are products of EM schools but are frequent speakers of both languages and maximum in the group of M-D speakers. Thus the division is not between English-as-a-mother-tongue speakers and English-as-a-second-language speakers but a tripartite one between the E-D speakers, the

BB speakers and those who know just enough to meet the contingencies of the language situation. Most of the E-D speakers belong to the Eurasian community and speak little Malayalam. It is in pronunciation, more than in anything else that the Eurasians may be said to succeed in protecting their community identity, although even here the non-E's who go to the Anglo-Indian schools share many features of their pronunciation.

Chapter Two

THE EMERGENCE OF A BILINGUAL SOCIETY : A HISTORICAL VIEW OF MODERN FORT COCHIN

0. INTRODUCTION

Fort Cochin, one square mile in area, holds a strategic position on the west coast of Kerala. It stands at the mouth of a beautiful natural harbour with its rich hinterland of spices. European maritime powers could not resist the lure of pepper in this land. The political instability and mutual hostility of local rulers enabled them to entrench themselves along the coast for five and a half centuries, from 1502 to 1947. The history of the ancient town of Cochin, within this period, is therefore a narration of the successive administration of three different European powers, the Portugese, the Dutch and the British.

1. THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD (1502-1663)

One of the earliest among the fortune seekers to the Kerala Coast were the Portugese. They were not really the first foreigners to trade here because the Phoenicians and the Arabs were already here much earlier, but they were the ones who laid the foundations of Cochin Town. "Manuel Kotta", their colony, was built on the land gifted to them by a grateful Raja for the help they had rendered him in defeating his enemy, the powerful Zamorin of Calicut.

Manuel Kotta was a square of side 550 feet with broad deep ditches on two sides, the other being protected by the sea and the backwater, and six huge bastions fitted with powerful guns (Bernard K.L. 1977). It was much more than a mere fortified colony, being as civilised an administration as was known in those ages. The Portugese not only epitomized the proselytizing zeal of those times but also had "Officers of Justice", an "Exchequer", a "House of Mercy" and a "Hospital". The Ecclesiastical power consisted of the Bishop, his clergy and various religious orders such as the Jesuits, the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Augustinians; (refer "Description of Cochin in 1502" translated by Mgr Figueiredo). There were also convents for nuns. The town was not only a commercial factory but a Portugese colony with a set-up that followed the norms of their Latin Catholic civilization.

1.1 EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

The great masters of education, the Jesuits, built a large library in Manuel Kotta, "the finest that was in Asia, such on account of the number of books which the people from Europe were sending to them each year, and principally for the rare manuscripts - Hebraic, Chaldaic, Arabic, Persian, Indo-Chinese and in other Oriental languages." According to Mgr. Figueiredo and K.L. Bernard, the Portugese 'colleges' or schools admitted little children from the first class onwards (personal communication).

Talking of the pioneer European educationists in colonial India, Dr. S.M. Mukherji says (D'Souza A.A. 1976 - 57) that the schools and colleges of this Latin race were open to the children of Europeans, Eurasians and Indians. Portugese or patois, a combination of several languages for which pure Portugese provided but a framework, was the medium of instruction. Portugese in fact was the lingua-franca of the people for a long time till the British came along and made English the link language.

The mood of those times is reflected in the contents of a letter written by the great saint and apostle of the Indies, Francis Xavier, to the King of Portugal. In it he refers to Malabar "sunk in vice and error", and requiring the ministrations of dedicated religious men (1545, 20th January - translated by Mgr. Figueiredo). And the task of educating the people was conscientiously carried on by the Portugese clergy right through Portugese, Dutch and British times, albeit in a subdued manner during the rule of the Netherlanders who tried to suppress Roman Catholicism with little success.

With the coming of the British, Manuel Kotta enjoyed religious freedom and the Portugese educationists were once more free to proselytize and educate the people. In 1809, Fr. Thomas de Noronha, the Governor of Cochin Diocese, at his own expense purchased a compound costing Rs. 2000/- and "built a large building for the education of the Children".

Although this building was, at first meant for those who wished to embrace the clerical state, the motive changed later. In 1810, May 2nd, Fr. Jose de Maria, his successor, allowed those boys who had no vocation to the clerical state to continue their secular studies such as "logic, philosophy and science". In another pastoral letter to the Vicar and Deputados of Mattancherry Church, Fr. Jose Maria de Remedios, Governor of the Missions of Malabar, refers to a school in which the pupils are taught "to read, to write, to count and the Christian doctrine". He also refers to the money that was to be paid by him monthly and to the appointment of an inspector of the schools to another clergyman, who, he said, "should be matriculated to receive the congrua from Goa just as the other Vicars of this Bishopric receive". (translation by Mgr. Figueiredo from Mitras Lusitanas). This was on the 4th of July, 1823. On the 11th another letter was sent to the Vicar of Mattancherry Church: "Since the Christians of Mattancherry (which is close to Fort Cochin) are not content with one school, one more has to be built. Malayalam should be taught in one and in the other Portugese and English." It is indeed interesting to note that 10 years earlier (1813) Rev. Dossil had opened a school to teach English in Mattancherry but it had to be closed down for want of pupils. And now ten years later the Catholic population in Mattancherry was demanding a second school, and provisions were being made to teach the main languages according

to the needs of the members of the community. We are left to conjecture whether it was religious prejudice (on the part of both Roman Catholics and the Hindu-Muslim communities) which led to the closing down of the English Protestant school.

From the various educational activities of the Portuguese clergymen and their awareness of the need to change the language policies we are led to infer how much they had the spiritual and temporal welfare of their flock at heart. Their successors, the Dutch, were also aware of this and could not compete with the former in their zeal and activity to help their flock. The Dutch during their rule (1663-1795) did not like the interference of the Portuguese Ecclesiastical authorities in the affairs of the local Catholic Church and tried to discourage them in their attempts to bring some Latin clergymen to order (Galletti, A., 1910). But the British granted religious freedom to the people when they took over Cochin from the Dutch in 1795. Their Protestant pastors also made earnest efforts to educate the local people in the English language but the Catholic Church forbade their members on pain of excommunication to attend this English Protestant school. Perhaps this was also the reason as we have mentioned earlier, that the school opened by the Protestant priest, Rev. Dossil, in Mattancherry had to be shut down for want of pupils. But ten years later the Catholics of the place demanded a second school to which request it was that Fr. Jose Maria de Remedios complied

by requesting the Vicar of Mattancherry to build another school in Mattancherry. In the town of Cochin the majority population of Catholics got their schools only in the last few decades of the 19th century. Till then, possibly, those who wanted education in English either attended the Mattancherry schools, or, if they could afford it, went to schools in Madras and other places outside Cochin. The custom of sending their children to Catholic schools like St. Bede's in Madras was quite in vogue in the early decades of the present century, especially among the well-to-do or among the Eurasians.

1.2 RELIGIOUS POLICIES

The Protestant writer, Visscher, who was the Dutch chaplain in Manuel Kotta between 1717 and 1723, in one of his famous Letters from Malabar refers to the inhabitants of Cochin as consisting of "the native Christians, the Thopasses (predecessors of the E's) and the Europeans, the last who form the most considerable portion of them comprising also the mixed race sprung from European fathers and native mothers." The Portugese had taken precautions to keep Manuel Kotta a strictly Christian town. It was decreed that the citizens should not be treated by non-Christian doctors or shaved by non-Christian barbers. Christians were also granted special privileges and immunities. These privileges were permitted in the negotiations of the Portuguese with the Cochin Raja. For example,

Christians who committed crimes were to be handed over to the Portuguese authorities for punishment (Menon, A.S. 1967).

When Manuel Kotta capitulated to the Dutch in 1663, the married Portuguese and the mestics who removed to Goa from Cochin, numbered 4000. There were 8000 to 10,000 Thopasses and native Christians left in the Portuguese town. The Portuguese Thopasses are the fore-runners of the present Portuguese-Malayalee community who now go under the name of Eurasians. These Thopasses had fled the town when the initial anti-Catholic atrocities against them were committed by the Netherlands. Later the Dutch policy was altered and the Thopasses and native Christians returned to the town and lived under the protection of the Dutch. In ecclesiastical matters they continued to be ruled by the Roman Catholic Church. They were employed as commercial residents, interpreters, soldiers and school masters and they continued to use Portuguese as their lingua franca (Galletti 1910, page 15).

The Native Christians : When the Portuguese came to Kerala they found that an ancient community of Christians existed here. They were landowners and military officers and enjoyed the privileges granted to the higher castes. They observed certain Hindu cultural traditions and even considered the new converts to their faith as social inferiors.

Hardly a week after the Portugese landed in Cochin for the second time, in 1502, a delegation of these people from Craganore met Vasco-da-Gama and sought his protection. The Portugese reciprocated by helping them in their trade, which had been harmed by the activity of the Muslim traders patronised by the Zamorin of Calicut. It was lucky for the Christians that the Cochin Raja happened to be a deadly enemy of the Zamorin. The former also joined the Portugese in favouring the Christian traders.

It was not roses all the way for these ancient Christians. The Portugese clergy found that the native Christians believed in some heresies. They promptly set about to convert them to the Roman Catholic belief and practices. In their eagerness to Latinize them, the Portugese were unwittingly the cause of the historical split in the body of the Kerala Church. The Portugese authorities were suspected to have imprisoned and killed their leader Mar Athalla who had come to Kerala from the Near East, in response to the request by the Syrian Christians. In retaliation, these Christians gathered together at what is now the famous shrine of Coonon Cross in Mattancherry, and vowed that they would no longer give their allegiance to the Pope or to the Latin Catholic Church in Kerala; (Menon, A.S., 1967).

Some of these Christians, (about 2 lakhs of them), however, continued to be loyal to the Latin Church. These are believed to be the forerunners of many of the Latin Catholics who live in Fort Cochin today. The Portuguese also started a printing press in 1557, which for the first time in history, used the Malayalam type. Books of a religious nature were produced from this press for the benefit of the local people.

During the British period the missionaries opened St. Joseph's School for boys in 1878. Later it became Santa Cruz Boys' High School for both the Malayalam and the Eurasian groups. It was only after independence that Santa Cruz changed its medium to Malayalam. In 1943, Fatima Convent was specially opened for the girls of the native Christian community. The European and the Eurasian girls used to go to St. Mary's Convent, the English medium school, which was opened much earlier in 1889.

1.3 THE CREATION OF A NEW COMMUNITY : THE EURASIANS

The Eurasian community was the creation of a very ambitious and farsighted Governor of Portuguese Cochin, namely, Alphonso Albuquerque. He dreamed of an empire where this mixed community, because of its close ties of religion and blood, would serve the Portuguese power. There were additional reasons for the creation of this new community. The Portuguese

went to colonize the East with the "Cross and the Sword". The Christians of those days felt it their bounden duty to save the non-believers from superstition and hell-fire. Even the Christian heretics had to be saved from the error of their beliefs. There was no expedition of a commercial nature which was not accompanied by soldiers on the one hand and by clergymen full of zeal to save heathen souls on the other. Additionally, their monarch, Don Immanuel, wished that his officers and men should not form unions with the native women without the sanction of marriage. And since it was too expensive for the authorities to get shiploads of eligible Portugese women from Europe, as they had initially begun to do, they decided that the most desirable solution to all these problems lay in promoting intermarriages between the Portugese men and the local women of good families.

It is to the credit of the Portugese that they at least practised their religion by showing no prejudices because of colour. Albuquerque carefully selected Portugese officers and civilians and women from influential local families to be their wives. Dowries, land, cattle, exemption from taxes on sugar and silk were some of the incentives offered to these couples to start their married life. Their children were given education in colleges and appointed to suitable civil and military posts in the infant empire with its headquarters in Goa (refer Pannikar, K.M. 1960, and D'Souza, A. 1976).

Political changes brought a lot of misfortune to this community. First of all they had to flee their homes in Manuel Kotta in order to escape Dutch religious persecution. Living in remote corners of the state, away from the colonial pattern of living and westernisation, they had become nativised in their language and way of living. Later, during the British period two cultural groups came into being: the westernised English speaking Eurasians and the Malayalamised Feringhees. Sections of both the groups form the Eurasian community in Fort Cochin today. Getting no patronage with any of the succeeding colonial powers, this community began to identify itself during the British period with the larger group of Anglo-Indians all over the country. It was only after independence that, with the help given to this linguistic minority by the state government, this community at large began to regain some amount of financial stability and status which it had lost during 1663-1900.

Thus, before the swashbuckling Portugese left the Kerala shores they had laid the foundations of a bilingual society, a majority population of Roman Catholics with its two cultural groups and the Portugese language as a lingua-franca of the region. Of these it is only the language which has slowly withered away through neglect. In its corrupt form it is still spoken by a very few great grandparents in Cochin and Vypeen.

But many youngsters have perhaps not heard even a word of it used by elders in the daily exchanges of life. Some of the Portuguese lexical items may be heard in English and especially in the Malayalam used by the Malayalam speaking Feringhees.

2. THE DUTCH PERIOD (1663-1795)

2.1 ANTI-PORTUGUESE ACTIVITIES

The European conquerors carried their national prejudices and antagonisms wherever they went to colonize. The Netherlanders and the Portuguese were antagonistic to each other on the highly sensitive question of religion. The first act of the former was to destroy all signs and symbols of Catholic worship and its ecclesiastical set-up. Churches and convents were pulled down and religious statues were dumped into wells. (Bernard, K.L. - personal communication). The priests were sent away and the famous Jesuit College was destroyed. It is said that the Dutch soldiers lit their tobacco with the leaves of the precious volumes in the library. Their antagonism was especially directed against the Jesuits who were at that time in the vanguard of the reformist movement within the Catholic Church. Even when the Clergy were recalled in order to pacify the Roman Catholic population which had deserted Manuel Kotta, the Jesuits were not allowed to return. The Dutch tolerated the Carmelites, and permitted them to build their mission in the village of Chathiath which is today a centre of influence

of the Feringhees.

Trade was for the authorities at Batavia the prime concern. They were thrifty and efficient. The Dutch did not wish to consolidate their possessions in the way their predecessors had done, by building up colonies through the promotion of mixed marriages. The Batavian Council had decided by sixteen votes to one to taboo mixed marriages. They weren't entirely successful in this policy because some of their European employees not only married Catholic wives, but even brought up their children according to the tenets of Catholicism. Manuel Kotta became more of a fortified factory than a colony. A part of the town was pulled down and the perimeter of the fortification reduced, so that the place could be held by a small garrison; (Galletti 1910).

It is to their credit that the Dutch tried to atone for their persecution of the Catholics by recalling some of the clergy and by allowing them to build a Catholic Church across the harbour mouth, in Vypeen (Those Catholics who returned, settled down in Manuel Kotta to serve their new masters in their trading concerns. But it was the non-Catholic Syrian Christians and the Jews, as well as the Konkanies who were specially favoured by the Dutch. Full freedom of worship was enjoyed by the Catholics only when the British arrived in 1795.

2.2 CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The Dutch were able and efficient administrators. Their Governors left memoirs and records of their administration to guide their successors. But culturally they were almost ineffective. To a great extent it was the religio-cultural policy of their Latin predecessors which was responsible for their lack of success in this field.

The Portugese had left the shores of Kerala but their presence was felt indirectly in the large number of Eurasian families and the Catholic culture of the majority of the residents in the town. From this point of view the Portugese were an enormous success. Some of the Dutch did realize the advantage of their predecessors policy, but it had no effect on the general body of their decision makers in Holland. Also they believed in the 'pure doctrine' of their reformed religion, but their efforts to introduce it were of no avail. The Dutch Governor Gollenesse left the following record of his failure for his successor : "To my sincere regret I must confess that the Reformed doctrine has made little progress in spite of all careful forethought and the regulations concerning schools and the education of children and the instructions regarding the penetration of the Popish superstitions ... almost all the children of our European employers married to Catholic wives are brought up on the Roman faith. Not the slightest improvement can be expected unless Church and schools

are provided with edifying and efficient teachers who understand the Portugese language." There is humour in the additional remarks made by "the Gollennesse about the hopelessness of their situation "What can the zeal of a reformed preacher, whom nobody can understand, do to combat the hustle of a thousand Roman priests on this coast who are perfectly equipped with the necessary knowledge of the language?" (Galletti 1910, page 80).

Gollennesse's regret has been justified by later events in Cochin. The sporadic efforts of the Dutch to win over converts to their reformed religion were no match to the energy and the purposefulness of the Latin clergy and their bands of missionaries. The Dutch attempts to make the children learn Dutch also proved unsuccessful (Mgr. Figueiredo - personal communication).

A huge book on medicinal herbs was the most remarkable gift that the Dutch colonialists gave to posterity. 'Hortus Malabricus', was the work of three Konkani Brahmins, one Ezhava physician and the Carmelite monk, Mathoes. It took 40 years for the research on herbs to be completed. A description of each plant was written in Malayalam, and then translated into Portugese by one Eurasian, Immanuel Carneiro, of Cochin. It was further translated into Latin by Herman Van Douep and finally edited by a Dutch chaplain. It consisted of 12 volumes

with 794 copper plate engravings. For the destroyers of the library this may well be an act of atonement.

2.3 LASTING EFFECTS OF THE DUTCH RULE

When the British captured Cochin in 1795, some Dutch citizens who were desirous of leaving the place were sent to Bombay and from there shipped to Batavia. There were many who wished to remain in Cochin. These were reduced to great distress during the British period, so much so the Company had to settle pensions on several of them (Menon, A.C., The Cochin State Manuel pages 137-138).

The Dutch men and their descendants married girls of Portugese descent and amalgamated themselves into the mainstream of Indo-Portugese society. Today the Eurasians who bear Dutch names are also Roman Catholics. The only European language they have retained from this period is Portugese. The only Dutch that is left seems to be confined to the names in some of the streets of the town, in the Baptismal records of St. Francis' Church which was the only church retained by them for their own service, and in the Church engravings. These and the old cemetery by the beachside bear a silent testimony to that bygone era.

3. THE BRITISH PERIOD : 1795-1947

3.1 SOME EARLY EFFECTS

While the Netherlanders had reduced the beautiful Portugese town to one third of its size, the British joined in by blowing up some of the finest buildings left by the former rulers including the Santa Cruz Cathedral at the harbour mouth which had been used by the Dutch as a godown. It was the fear that their predecessor might regain power and influence that prompted this vandalism.

The early years of British rule did not reflect glory on the East India Company. "The town sank lower and lower, commercially, socially, and morally." (Koder, S.S. in F.C.M.C.S., 1966). By 1816 the Protestants of the town succeeded in getting an English chaplain, who opened the first English school in British Cochin. The Catholics were forbidden on pain of excommunication to attend this Protestant school. Nevertheless the beginnings of the language-contact situation had begun. English had come to British Cochin.

British Cochin was under the Madras State until the states in India were reorganised after Independence in 1958. Dutch Cochin which was less than 550 square feet, was now expanded to one square mile, by the Order No. 1053 of the Madras Government in 1866. The places that were joined to British Cochin were Vypeen, Calvetti, Kapri Island, Chellai, Amaravathy, Veliva,

Pudunagaram and Odathakal. The town council of the Portugese and the Dutch had been primarily set up for the benefit of the rulers. But the British municipality was a more democratic one and its main purpose was to tackle the day-to-day administration of the town and its people. Among the chairmen who guided the destiny of the town for a century (1866-1966) there were seven natives: one Jew, four Christians, one Konkani and one Muslim. And one of the Christians was a Eurasian lady.

3.2 THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

The addition of the outlying areas to the original territory brought in a major change in the socio-cultural make-up of the total population. In what was a purely Christian town, large groups of Muslims and Hindus were included. Modern Cochin began to take shape.

Second in number to the Christians of the town were the Muslims (see Section 1.3 Chapter Three). From the earliest times, Kerala had been in contact with the Arabian coast. When Islam swept over Arabia, its influence was also felt in Kerala where it began to spread through conversion and by the settlement of Arab traders along the coast. The largest group of Muslims was the Moplahs, descendants of unions between Arabs and local women. They were thriving traders and owed their prosperity in great measure to the patronage of the Zamorin of Calicut. Two other Muslim groups were the Pathans and the

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Kutchies. The Pathans came with the army as late as the 17th century. They were in later years joined by fresh immigrants. The Kutchies were from Sindh and Gujarat and they came at the invitation of Raja Rana Verma of Cochin for purposes of trade (Padmanaban, K.P. 1924). The Raja wanted them to break the monopoly of Dutch trade at Puracad. Members of all these three communities formed part of the population that was included in the new Municipal territory. Among the Muslims, the Moplahs are numerically the largest group, while the Pathans and Kutchies are much fewer in number.

Outside the esplanade of the Portuguese fort in the place called Amaravathy (see the map) the Konkaniens came to live, ironically enough, close to the very people who were responsible for their escape from Goa and neighbouring places. It is believed that the religious persecutions of the Portuguese made them flee their homes (Menon, A.S. 1967). However, their relationship with the Portuguese of Cochin and later on with the Dutch and the British were cordial. Amaravathy was included in the new municipality. They are a predominantly commercial community and Cochinites depend on their bustling little shops to supply them with grocery, textile, vegetable and other kinds of merchandize.

The next largest Hindu community which formed the population of the new town were the Ezhavas. These are said to have

originally come from Ceylon. There was no rigid caste system in Kerala before the 8th century (Menon, A.S., 1967). Then through artifices of peace the Brahmins from the North brought into its egalitarian society practices of not only untouchability but also of unseccability. The Ezhavas were relegated to an intermediary position between the Nairs and the untouchables. In British Cochin the Ezhavas were able to enjoy considerable social freedom without the constraints imposed on them by the presence of the higher Hindu castes. They were lifted out of their dormant state by the active efforts of Sri Narayana Guru who campaigned for the underprivileged classes in the early decades of the century, consecrating shrines and permitting entry of the downgraded Pulayas, the Parayas etc. In the schools of the British they got their first taste of social equality when prince and pauper, high and low caste, sat side by side to learn English and the three R's.

3.3 THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION

From the very beginning the new municipality began to attack the problem of education. It was especially keen to bring literacy to the Muslims and the Hindus who up to this time did not have a planned programme of education for its people. In the days before the colonial powers came into the scene, education among the Hindus was imparted to only a privileged few by private gurus. The syllabus was of a

restricted kind consisting of writing the vernacular, the multiplication table, the recitation of Sanskrit hymns and, in rare instances, the memorising of Sanskrit poetry. By 1818, Colonel Munro became the British Resident and under his enlightened administration education was given a great fillip. In British Cochin alone the municipality opened a total number of 15 vernacular schools with 1900 boys on the rolls. There were special schools for the Moplahs where Arabic could be learned and by the year 1924, primary education was made compulsory. By 1942 Travancore-Cochin had a literacy figure of 45%; (Tamburan, R.V. 1944). For Fort Cochin alone the figure should be much higher than 50%. In 1951 Travancore-Cochin showed 75% literacy for males and 58.5% for females of the 15-24 age group; (see page 78, Census of India, 1961, Monograph series - No.7, March 1968).

3.4 THE EURASIANS IN BRITISH COCHIN

After the Portugese left, the Eurasians were unable to recapture their old glory. Although they were under the protection of the Netherlanders according to the terms of the Portugese surrender, they were not favoured as much as the non-Catholic Syrian Christians and the Jews. There were ample reasons for this state of affairs. The Dutch knew that the Roman Catholics were at heart loyal to the Portugese. The Dutch also hated the Portugese and feared their return to power

as the English later feared the return to power of their predecessors, the Dutch. Also, the Dutch efforts to win the Thopasses and Malayalee Latin Catholics over to the Reformed Religion did not meet with any success.

The arrival of the British did nothing to ameliorate the lot of the Eurasians. All over India, in fact, from 1791 to 1895 the British had followed a policy of systematic suppression of the community they had created the Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indians had during the earlier years grown in numbers and prosperity under the patronage of the British. The latter began to fear that the community would rise in revolt against them and they passed a number of laws preventing them from occupying high offices in the Company, the army, etc., from holding estates and the like. It was only during the Great Indian Mutiny when this community showed its loyalty to the Crown that the unjust laws against them were removed (D'Souza, A. 1976). They were once more in the good books of the British who gave them many privileges like job reservations and financial help for educational purposes. During this dark period, and in the early decades of 20th century, the Eurasians of Kerala including those in Cochin were in a state of destitution. They did not even get the privileges that were granted to the Anglo-Indians after 1857. Referring to this community, the Commissioner for the Backward

Classes is stated to have reported (Gaikwad, V.R. 1967):

"There is a small community in the South (Travancore-Cochin) which is really Eurasian in character being the progeny of alliances between Portugese and Dutch fathers and Indian mothers. The Eurasians have practically accepted Malayalam as their language. They could not secure privileges under the British rule as the Anglo-Indians had done. They are extremely backward today."

One way out of the financial difficulties that beset the community was to enlist as an Anglo-Indian. The fact that Eurasians were beginning to acquire English from the MI schools and that some of the members were marrying into the AI community helped them to adjust socially with the AI's. But there were some snags. In British possessions like Fort Cochin, Tangacherry and Quilon there were educational opportunities to learn English and speak it fluently. But in other small towns the Feringhees had to be content with education in the vernacular. By 1945 the leaders of the community managed to get a number of AI schools opened at centres where E's were settled in large numbers. In order to get recognition for these schools in the prevailing atmosphere of political struggle and national awakening they had to fall in line with the other vernacular schools of the state. The grant-in-aid was low. AI teachers were not available and the board itself

was not financially capable of replenishing the grant from the government. Under these circumstances the AI schools could not be modelled on the EI schools of other centres and were practically like other vernacular schools of the state (Padua S.M.L.A. unpublished manuscript). The outcome was that the products of these schools were not westernised as one expected the AI to be. They could not speak English.

3.5 THE MOTHER-TONGUE DILEMMA

In 1942 Frank Antony took up the leadership of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association. This dynamic leader gave a sense of belonging and purpose to this body of anglicized people who were shaken by the political movement and upheavals and did not have a sense of national direction at that time. Antony stressed the fact of their Indianness and at the same time gave the members a sense of unity and oneness by emphasizing their distinct social make-up. He stressed the importance of the English language and of the Anglo-Indian schools which he called the 'life-line' of the community: "Without our schools, without our language it would be only a question of time before the community was destroyed as a recognized and recognizable entity." With the emphasis on language, the Kerala Eurasians on the whole became a source of embarrassment to Antony. He denied that they were Anglo-Indians because their mother-tongue was not English but Malayalam. Because of

differences on this issue, the leader of the Kerala Eurasians, Sri A.A.D. Luiz, left the parent body, the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, and set up the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations of Kerala. The rival camps began to function in places like Fort Cochin, where, because of the presence of considerable numbers of anglicized Eurasians (who were products of the local FM schools) the All-India body also won a large number of members to their association. The two rival associations did not see eye to eye on two important issues, one was regarding the language and the other whether the community was 'backward' or not. Although the Feringhees were nativised in language, and manners, etc., none could deny that they were of Portuguese and Dutch origin.

It was imperative for them to show that their mother-tongue was English in order to be recognized as a linguistic minority community. The other point of disagreement was again inevitable. Living for three centuries in remote places without political patronage or leadership the Feringhees were reduced to considerable poverty and hardship and in the middle decades of this century the leaders found that financial aid was necessary to bring up the community to the level enjoyed, for instance, by the Syrian Christians or the Nairs. On the other hand, the Anglo-Indian group had after 1857 enjoyed the patronage of the British Government and seemingly

were better off than their Eurasian counterparts in Kerala. The All-India AI leadership emphasised the self-reliance required of its members and made them feel that they were a progressive and forward looking group. So they disagreed with the Kerala group who declared themselves 'educationally backward' in order to get grant-in-aids and scholarships for the education of their members. Thus the differences between the two groups were based on the socio-economic insecurity of the Eurasians. The 'mother-tongue' dilemma has an important bearing on the kind of English spoken in F.C. today.

4. THE SUMMING UP

We have tried, in this chapter, to understand the forces that have gradually built up the foundations of a literate and bilingual society in Fort Cochin. We have tried to show how the Portuguese built up a Roman Catholic civilisation in Manuel Kotta leaving behind two cultural groups, the native Latin Catholics and the Eurasians, with one faith and an educational set-up that catered to the distinct language needs of both the groups. We have also tried to show that the attempts of the Dutch in bringing their reformed religion and their language to the people were feeble and unrewarding.

Finally, the democratically functioning British who were little concerned with religion enlarged the area of old Dutch Cochin and brought in such disparate elements as the Muslims

and the Hindus thereby changing the social complexion of the population. Nevertheless the foundations of the educational system laid by them, and eagerly built up by the Catholic missionaries and the municipality, welded together the population into a peaceful and integrated body under the democratically functioning municipal administration from 1866 to 1967, till Fort Cochin became part of Cochin Corporation on November 1, 1967. The process of polarisation had begun (see Section 1 Chapter One).

We have now entered into the modern era and it is time to draw a curtain on the colonial past. In the next chapter we shall try to investigate the nature of the socio-cultural milieu as it exists in Fort Cochin today and its bearing on the English language.

Chapter Three

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL MILIEU

In the previous chapter the historical background to the language contact situation in Fort Cochin was described. In this chapter we shall describe the socio-cultural milieu and highlight the pressures at work which maintain a highly bilingual situation and a popular use of English in Fort Cochin.

1. THE AREA OF INVESTIGATION

1.1 THE AREA AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SUBSTRATUM

The independent municipality of Fort Cochin was abolished after a hundred years of existence by an order of the Government of Kerala, on the 1st of November, 1967 (Kerala Gazette No.4, 10th October 1967). It was later merged with the greater Cochin Corporation, (Kerala Gazette No.107, 15th March 1975). When we refer to Fort Cochin in this study we have in mind the boundaries which existed before 1967 and all the major communities which occupy it till the present day. This area consists of 2.61 sq.km. or one sq. mile (refer to the map of Fort Cochin in the beginning of the thesis).

In the years following Independence, the Europeans and many Eurasian families left Cochin to seek their fortunes in places of their choice. The area which was once the site of

Portuguese, Dutch and British occupation, is now mainly occupied by the Eurasians, the Latin Catholics and the Protestants. It is generally referred to as Kotta or 'fort'. There are also some Pathan families and some outsiders in this area. In the heart of this area one may see the Cathedral of Santa Cruz and not very far away the Bishop's house and St. John de Britto's A.I. High School, and the rest of the Catholic schools. To these four schools the majority of the Christians and a part of the non-Christian population owe their education right from the last decades of the 19th century. This area forms the nucleus of the English speaking population of Fort Cochin. About five thousand students are currently enrolled in these schools. The following are the figures obtained for the year 1977 :

Name of the School	Total No.	Non-E's	E's	Medium of instruction
St. Mary's A.I. Girls' H. School	1002	794	208	English
St. John de Britto A.I. Boys' H.School	1196	1019	177	English
Fatima Convent Girls' High School	1309	1247	62	Malayalam
Santa Cruz Boys' High School	1250	1181	69	Malayalam
Total number	4757	4241	516	

There are two more **EM** schools in Fort Cochin, one in Vypeen, close to the sea, and the other close to the historical Church of St. Francis Xavier. The former, Lady of Hope's primary school, has only 13 Eurasian students. This small number is a result of a large scale movement of the **E** families from the area to other parts of the country and the Commonwealth (Bernard, K.L. - personal communication). The latter school, called 'Delta Study' has been opened by some members of the commercial community of Fort Cochin who are evidently not satisfied by the type of education given in the local schools of Fort Cochin (Menon M., Secretary of the Society personal communication). These members are mostly outsiders who have settled down here mainly for business. The school aims at imparting a type of education that is non-sectarian with a high standard of English. It also aims at inculcating in the students loyalty that emerges through sharing a common history and geography without any emphasis on religion and community. It is yet to be seen how popular such a purely non-sectarian education will prove in a predominantly Christian environment. The school had 120 students in 1977, all non-Eurasians. Although the school does not seem to be very successful, judging from the number of its admissions, the fact of its existence is important evidence of a strong feeling among those who have been exposed to education outside Cochin, that Fort Cochin's **EM** schools have for too long been

complacent about their role in the town. The criticism to a great extent extends to the type of English that the students are being exposed to (refer Section No.4.2, Chapter Four).

To the North-East, in the neighbourhood called Calvetti, stay the majority of the Moplah Muslims. They have their mosques and special Moplah schools where Arabic is specially taught for religious purposes. Some of the well-to-do Moplahs send their children to the Catholic schools.

The Konkani live to the South-East in two localities called Chellai and Amaravathy. They have two temples and one school where Konkani is taught. These are run by a Trust. They are about 30,000 Konkani in the whole of Cochin Corporation (Mallaya, P. personal communication) and in Fort Cochin alone one may expect to find about one-fourth of this number. Some of the families live in Mattancherry and many more in Ernakulam. Both these places are thriving commercial areas where the abilities of the Konkani people are successfully used.

The next largest community of Hindus consists of the Ezhavas. In 1966 their number in Fort Cochin amounted to 2500 (figure obtained from S.N.D.P. Yogam). They stay in areas close by along with the other communities. There are very few Nair families in the Fort area and no Namboodiri Brahmin

family, for reasons that are historical and socio-religious. Hindus belonging to the lower classes, the Pulayas and Farayas, are less than a thousand in number and stay in the outlying areas of the town, such as Veli and St. John's Pattom.

1.2 THE ECONOMY

From the time Fort Cochin Municipality was formed to the present day there have not been any major population changes in the town. The reason is mainly economic in nature. In the early years of the British rule (1795 to 1816), the Cochin Port decayed considerably through neglect (Koder, S.S. 1966). In the nineteen twenties a brilliant Englishman, Sir Robert Bristow, developed it into one of India's best natural harbours. It made a tremendous impact on the neighbouring municipalities of Mattancherry, Ernakulam, and Wellington Island and left Fort Cochin barely disturbed (refer Alexander, J.C. in F.C.M.C.S. 1966). At most one could see a number of mercantile firms along the fringe of the harbour mouth where groups of people were busy in trade, but as one entered the town this activity grew less. The town remained economically stagnant for many years till the middle sixties when the fishing and food preservation industries began to thrive. Recently the ship-building yard has given employment to many more local people who had to depend earlier on the port for employment. Side by side, jobs in the Gulf states have come to the people like

the touch of Midas. The not-so-young and young people who come home periodically from the Gulf States bring with them lots of wealth in the shape of gold, cash and material goods. There has been a boom in the housing industry and the once sleepy roads of Fort Cochin are alive with more and more motor-driven vehicles.

In spite of the economic progress the town does not bear comparison with the business centres of Mattancherry, Ernakulam and Wellington Island. It remains by and large a residential area with its many schools, its churches, mosques and temples, its open maidans and historical buildings. It continues to retain an old world charm which is intensified by the leisurely pace of life of the inhabitants. Their patterns of culture have not changed much from what they were more than a century ago when the British brought together the three major communities under a single municipal administration.

1.3 DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE AND MOTHER-TONGUES

In the days before Independence, the census figures showed a predominance of Christians over the others in the population. The 1941 census for British Cochin was as follows :

Table 1 : Population of British Cochin in 1941

Total population	26,320 *
Hindus, scheduled castes	483
Others	5,239
Muslims	6,734
Indian Christians	11,940
Others	1,734
Parsees	1
Jews	36
Buddhists	11

In the above report, the Christians constitute 46% of the total population, the Muslims 18% and the Hindus 16%. Unfortunately the report does not give the names of the sub-communities, except in the case of the Indian Christians and the scheduled castes whom we may assume to be Ezhavas, mostly. The report of the census checks with the facts provided by history with regard to the nature of the populations. For instance the 1941 report for the whole of Cochin which was under the Cochin Raja shows a predominance of the Hindu group with the Christians following and the Muslims forming a much smaller percentage of the total population :

*(there is a discrepancy between the total mentioned here and the total obtained by adding up the different numbers. This is an exact copy of the original. No changes have been made; refer to Census of 1941).

Table 2 : Cochin under the Raja - 1941

Hindus	63.4%
Christians	28.8%
Muslims	7.3%

After Independence, the Europeans and many Eurasian families left the town to seek their fortunes elsewhere. We would expect this to bring about a slight decrease in the Christian population in Fort Cochin. There has also been in recent times a tendency for the Muslims to move inward into the Christian area. On the whole Muslims tend to congregate more in Mattancherry and Fort Cochin than in Ernakulam. As for the Hindus, the Konkanies and Ezhavas are the largest groups, and continue more or less in their old localities. According to present indications the percentage of Hindus has gone up more than in the pre-Independence days.

The "regular enumeration of caste membership was brought to an end in India by the 1941 census" (Census of India, 1961 page 106) It was therefore found very difficult in the present investigation to get up-to-date figures of community membership. The last official total for Fort Cochin was 34,988 in 1966, one year before the municipality was dissolved. The community-wise figures which we present below have been obtained

from the records kept by the various Churches, the S.N.D.P., the Konkani Samajam etc. The present total population in the old Fort Cochin Municipality area has been adjudged to be 40,000 (an estimate given by the Corporation office). The mother-tongues used have been also included alongside the major communities as they are necessary to our understanding of the language contact situation.

Table 3 : Population of Fort Cochin area in 1978

Main Communities	Number of Members	Mother-tongue
Latin Catholics	11,514	Malayalam
Eurasian Catholics	3,286	English
Romo-Syrians	781	Malayalam
Protestants	1,624	Malayalam
Others	100	Not known
Moplahs	8,816	Malayalam
Pathans	1,048	Urdu
Konkanies	7,000	Konkani
Ezhavas	3,220	Malayalam
Pulayas, Parayas, etc.	838	Malayalam
Others	1,773	Tamil, Kutchy, etc.
Total	40,000	

On comparing the language-contact situation as it existed in 1941 and as it exists today, we find that no radical changes have taken place. Between 60% and 70% of the people used Malayalam then as their mother-tongue and about the same number use it today. A small minority of 8.2% uses English as its mother-tongue, while more than half of the educated population has at least a working knowledge of English for restrictive purposes such as its use in the office, in the shops for dealing with E customers, and for study purposes in schools and colleges.

A sizeable section of the student population learns to speak English fluently by attending the EM schools in the town. These may be counted among the nuclei of the English speaking population in Fort Cochin along with the E's. What is quite important to observe is the fact that the large body of speakers of English, E's and non-E's, is bilingual and able to switch from English to Malayalam and Malayalam to English with tolerable ease; (refer Section 2, Chapter Four). In other words compound bilingualism has affected the English language in use here. We shall investigate the linguistic nature of the local English in the next two chapters.

2. THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ETHOS OF THE NON-EURASIANS

Educational, economic, and cultural disparities among the

communities in Fort Cochin are not extreme as we shall show in the brief sketches of the main communities below :

2.1 ROMAN-CATHOLICS, ROMO-SYRIANS AND PROTESTANTS

The only difference between the first two groups is that the latter uses the Syriac language for liturgical purposes while the former uses the Latin tongue as the official language of the Church liturgy. The Romo-Syrians are under the Bishop of Trichur who is appointed by the Pope, the supreme head of both the denominations.

The term 'Protestant' has been used by us to cover all the Christian groups which are not under the Roman Pontiff. Thus the Jacobites and the Marthomites are not off-shoots of the great Protestant split with the Catholic Church in the 16th century in Europe, but claim a separate origin as converts of the Apostle Thomas. The protest to which they could lay a claim dates back to Portugese times in Kerala, and the revolt at the Coonen Cross (Bernard, K.L. 1977). There are also among the general group of non-Catholic Christians, the Church of South India, the Brethren and the Pentecostals.

All the Christian groups are socio-culturally very similar. They use Malayalam as their mother-tongue, and they wear the same kind of clothes. The men wear the white mundu and shirt and the older generation of women prefer the white modest blouse and mundu with a half saree, while the younger

generation prefer the saree. Manners and customs are very much alike. They do not kiss each other in mutual greeting as relations and friends among the Eurasians do, but fold their hands in greeting. It is difficult to distinguish the rich from the lower middle class who are all dressed cleanly and smartly except perhaps by the use of more jewellery, or more expensive clothing. Western clothing is something which the Keralites, in general, discard on reaching their state. This cannot be said of the Eurasians in general, especially of those who live in the ex-colonial pockets like Fort Cochin. Malayalee Christians never use the frock like many members among other Christian groups do in India - the Mangaloreans, the Goans, the Anglo-Indians and the Kerala Eurasians. The women folk among these groups used to be less socially advanced than the Anglicised Eurasians, or the above mentioned groups. But with the movement of hundreds of Malayalees outside the state, the women may be said to have become more extrovert and fashionable in their dress.

It has been fairly often pointed out that Kerala Christians do observe some amount of caste distinctions among themselves. The most famous example is that of the Syrian Christians' attitude towards the new converts in the Portuguese times (Menon, A.S. 1967). This has carried on to the Catholic group, and the division into the Seven Hundred and the Five Hundred. The Five Hundred are those who belong to the more

recent conversions by Francis Xavier and the Portugese missionaries while the Seven Hundred claim a social superiority by virtue of their more ancient origin and their high status in Kerala society. These differences never had religious sanction and are fortunately observed more in theory than in practice. The distinction seems to last as long as the occupation of the Five Hundred remains financially unprofitable. One fails to see how rich and educated members of the Five Hundred group are in any way socially discriminated against by the other group. In any case, some Christians observe the caste system only in the case of marriages. The Christian masses move freely with one another and with members of all the other groups inter dining and in some cases also intermarrying without loss of prestige. Twenty years ago intermarriages between two such denominations such as the Catholics and the Protestants, the Eurasian and the non-Eurasian Christians would have created some amount of scandal-mongering. But this is not so today.

Education and Employment : The Christian community in Fort Cochin may be said to be the most progressive, educationally and financially. Educationally, the community has no superior. In this regard we may quote the words of Sri Krishnan Namboodiri in his comments on literacy in Kerala. His words are very much applicable to the situation in Cochin specially. "Among

the factors responsible for the unique position Kerala enjoys in respect to the literacy level may be mentioned 1) the devoted efforts of Christian missionaries to spread literacy in the state; and 2) the earlier starting of schools and colleges under the active patronage of private agencies and the state. In this connection it may be pertinent to remark that among the major religious groups in the state, literacy has been highest among the Christians consistently throughout the period under review (1901-41), and that progress in literacy has been faster among that group during that period". He ends by saying that Travancore and Cochin lead in this sphere (Census of India 1961, page 79).

Among the group of nearly five thousand students who go to the Catholic schools the majority are Christians including Protestants who do not have a separate school in the area for themselves. Although they are basically Malayalee in their culture, they feel that knowledge of English is very essential for their socio-economic progress (refer Section 3, Chapter 4). There is no anti-English feeling among them, except in some cases, where the Malayalee Christians resent the fact that the E's do not give as much importance to the Malayalam language as they ought to on account of their long stay in this region. A considerable number of them send their children to the EM schools. The

majority go to the Malayalam medium Catholic schools, Santa Cruz and Fatima Convent.

In view of their numbers, their literacy, and their progressive outlook, the Christians enter all aspects of civil administrative life. They shine in business, commerce, and politics. Traditionally the Catholic and Muslim candidates have been always in the political race and the former have won more often than the latter. It is not always the case that Christians vote for their candidate and the Muslims for theirs as newspaper articles generally make out. Being politically mature like the rest of Keralites, even an ordinary housewife uses her vote according to how she feels the candidate will serve the constituency and not because she happens to be the member of a particular community. Talking of women we may also note that one of the reasons why the Christian community is progressive in Kerala is the high literacy of the women folk and their initiative in bearing the financial burden of the family. They go out to work even when the financial conditions do not warrant it. In this regard the Moplah Muslims have been less fortunate.

2.2 THE MOPLAHS

Kerala is a place where one does not hear Urdu or Hindustani on the roads or in public places; (Dua, R. and Sharma, S. in Indian Linguistics, Vol. 38, No.4, Dec. 1977).

The Moplah Muslims are very much Malayalee in their ethos. They learn Arabic only for religious purposes and do not use it colloquially at all. The Muslims who do speak Urdu at home are the Pathans, more recent immigrants to Cochin. But they form only a small minority of about little more than a thousand and they live in Pattalam close to the Bishop's Palace.

Education and employment : When the British municipality took up the issue of mass education in Cochin, they tried to win over Muslims to the cause by opening Moplah schools where Arabic could be taught for religious purposes. While most boys and girls go to school, the poorer boys often drop out to help their parents and the girls leave when they reach puberty. Where women are concerned they remain conservative. There is however not much orthodoxy among Pathan women. They go to work like the rest of the Kerala women, as clerks, typists, telephone operators and even engineers. Some of the Muslims send their children to the Catholic schools for education.

The well-to-do Moplahs are engaged in trade as rice merchants, and dealers in spices. Some of them have fisheries and others are land lords.. The less well-to-do keep beedi and meat shops and the poorer work as coolies and rickshawallas. The Pathan group has been traditionally associated with service, both in the government, military, and civil departments. They

and their womenfolk opt mostly for white collar jobs. Only a few of them own buses and fisheries. The poorer ones are clerks, peons and chowkidars. Others pull rickshaws in Fort Cochin.

Their prosperity in trade has often brought Moplahs into the limelight as trade-unionists and political candidates.

Cultural Similarities and differences : The Moplahs have been a part of the Malayalee environment for so long that it is difficult to distinguish a Moplah man from the rest of the Kerala men. Most of the time their apparel is the same. The women may be distinguished by the small veil with which they cover their heads; (the Pathan women do not cover their heads). They also wear the mundu and printed modest blouses. (Kerala Christian women wear white blouses with a slightly different pattern). They also carry their umbrellas to hide themselves from the public gaze. The women are less socially progressive than the Christian women and remain within the precincts of the home most of the time.

Intermarriages take place between the Moplahs and the Pathans and the dowries demanded by the Moplahs are high.

Muslims coming from North India may not find the ways of the Kerala Muslims familiar. One of the main obstacles between them is the language.

2.3 THE KONKANIES

The largest group among the Hindus comprises the Konkannies. They became part of the local environment when they came to settle down during the Portugese rule, outside the Fort, where they still remain in the localities called Amaravathy and Chellai. Part of their community lives in the neighbouring Mattancherry area.

The Konkannies are traditionally the shopkeepers of Fort Cochin. There was hardly any household item they did not sell. Even during the colonial days, the people of Cochin town depended upon this community for groceries, textiles and other items (Galletti 1910).

It may be on account of their commercial occupation that they have been famous for their mathematical ability and the community has contributed some wellknown teachers in the subject for local schools. There are among them erudite scholars, administrators, and doctors, some of whom are women. Some of their philanthropists have opened a library with reading rooms not far away from Cochin College. Records in palm leaves written in Ancient Malayalam and other valuable historical volumes are part of the literature that the library possesses for purpose of study and research. The Konkannies are devoted to their culture and traditions and they teach Konkani to their children in a special primary school that

they have set up close to their famous temple in Chellai. Partly because they are in larger numbers than the Pathans and partly because they run some of the commercial establishments in the town, one hears Konkani spoken between the community members but not Urdu. Being natives of the place for several centuries they also speak Malayalam but it is an additional or second language and they speak it generally with a pronounced accent, whenever they communicate with the other non-E natives. Some of them prefer to send their children to the Catholic schools while others send them to T.D. High School or Gujarati High School in the Mattancherry area. They communicate with the other communities in Malayalam or English. Hence Konkani does not make any impact on English as spoken by the rest of the population.

When the Konkanyies moved into this part of Kerala in the beginning the local Hindus looked upon them with suspicion. They were a slightly more fair-complexioned group and their womenfolk wore coloured sarrees wrapped in a different style, nose rings, and flowers in their hair. These differences persist till this day, but the men don the same type of clothes as the rest of the local people. Konkani women are socially more emancipated than Muslim women and some of them become doctors or take up the usual jobs that women prefer to do such as teaching, typewriting, clerical work, etc. Lately, the community has fallen into decadence and many of its

members have left for new places; (Tharanath, S.T. in F.C.M.S. 1966).

2.4 THE EZHAVAS

The twentieth century has been a period of social and economic reconstruction for the Ezhavas in a special way. Constrained by the caste system (Menon, A.S. 1967) they could not develop their full potential till colonialism brought into the land new ideas of equality, of opportunity and social freedom. The first people who gave these ideas a practical shape for them were the missionaries. They allowed them into their schools in Cochin. The other event to which the Ezhavas owe their consolidation as a group and their emancipation is the S.N.D.P. yogam established by their saint and leader Sri Narayana Guru. What has helped them immeasurably is the facility they began to enjoy as a backward class in the newly independent country. They have now entered all the professions. In Fort Cochin alone there are a few Ezhava doctors, lawyers and teachers. Among the business entrepreneurs there is a ship's-chandler and an educated lady who runs buses in Vypeen. There are also officers in the government departments. The poor among them do toddy-tapping, coolie work and buy and sell fish. The women are also as hard working. They go out with men to work as coolies and to sell fish.

The members of the community both male and female mix freely in society. They dress like the others. But among the women the poorer labourers and fisherwomen wear the choli and the short mundu. In the old days caste rules forced them to bare their bosoms. Today one seldom sees even an old Ezhava woman without a choli to cover the upper part of her body.

3. THE USERS OF ENGLISH AS A FIRST LANGUAGE

3.1 THEIR LIFE STYLE

The lives of the Eurasians of Fort Cochin, like those of the other Catholics, are full of religious festivals and important ceremonies which initiate the growing children into the full spiritual life of Catholicism. These and other secular festivities such as birthdays and anniversaries are occasions for the members of the small but closely knit community to socialize with each other. Music and dancing are also customary among the more westernised families. They prefer western clothes. When sarees became the fashion among Indian ladies the more orthodox among them did not approve of the use of sarees among the members of their own community. While Eurasians in many parts of Kerala go about in native clothing, in colonial pockets like Fort Cochin most Eurasian men wear trousers and can never be induced to wear the mundu. They are known to keep their homes cosy and comfortable as much

as they can afford to within their means and appear to be contented with their lot if they have enough income to meet their expenses. They do not generally skimp and save as others do for dowries and higher education of their children. (Also see Fadua, S. 1973).

During the Dutch period one hears of Eurasians being engaged by the Netherlanders as interpreters, school-masters, soldiers and commercial residents (Galletti 1910). One of them, Captain Silvester Mendes was also a famous diplomat. In British times there were shipbuilders and ship-owners whose names have come down in the pages of local history. One of them in Vypeen was a master ship-builder for 42 years; (Bernard, K.L. 1977). Still later, Dominic Lobo and Brothers of Vypeen also built and repaired both ships and boats. In modern times a few of the Eurasians have continued as stevedores, and contractors for repairing and painting ships in the harbour. The Eurasian men take to the sea quite as naturally as did their forefathers. Some are officers in the Merchant Navy and some are ordinary sailors. Many of them prefer white collar jobs as clerks for weighing, writing accounts and tallying goods in the mercantile firms. The Portugese were skilled in building. "The backwaters and lagoons about Cochin are still strewn with ruins that bear witness to the extent of the Portugese enterprise and skill

in building." (Galletti, 1910). And so we find builders, contractors, carpenters, engineers and mechanics among their descendants today. Some of them own small businesses in refrigeration, mechanical workshops, shoe-making and carpentry. One seldom sees traders among them. In spite of the scholarships available to them as an educationally backward community, there are few doctors, lawyers and engineers among them. Teachers, and administrators are more in number. There are also administrators in the religious orders. All the girls are educated and prefer to become teachers, secretaries and typists. As teachers the Eurasian girls have made a name for themselves in the English medium schools of Bengal at the time when the Anglo-Indians were leaving the country in large numbers. By becoming first-language speakers of English within the country they were often in demand in schools especially for teaching the younger children, during their language formative years.

3.2 ATTITUDES TO ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Excepting the group called "Feringhees" who have had their education in MM schools, the majority of the E's in Fort Cochin use English at home and outside. It is the language of their emotional make-up, of prayer and worship. When the Catholic Church began to use the vernacular instead of Latin for Church services, the F.C. Church began to

conduct mass and services for the Eurasian community in English also. English is for them a mother-tongue or a sign of identification with the larger body of Eurasians and Anglo-Indians all over the country. Although they have not naturally inherited it from their antecedents, they have voluntarily adopted it and continue to use it as their mother-tongue, especially since they began to represent themselves as Anglo-Indians. The problem of speaking in English arises only for those nativised Feringhees who come from places where there are no EM schools as there are in this town. English is for them a very sensitive issue. Every effort is made by them to familiarize their children with the English language. As part of this measure the Feringhee mother frequently switches from Malayalam to English and English to Malayalam often using non-standard language in the process. Inadvertently, many non-standard forms of English have been passed on to the children. Over the decades this state of affairs has been prolonged and today we see all Fort-Cochinites sharing a few or more of these non-standard forms depending much on his/her knowledge of the formal working of the language (refer Section 4.3 in Chapter Four).

3.3 ATTITUDE TO MALAYALAM LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

E products of the AI schools in the early decades of this century, and previous to that, could not appreciate the value of the Malayalam language and literature as did those of the

Feringhee group who went to Malayalam schools. When the latter entered Fort Cochin society they were gradually led to undervalue their own proficiency in this language because of the trend of westernisation which had set in. There were sad instances where anglicised members of the group were embarrassed to own up their relationship with their nativised kith and kin. Adolescents who had parents wearing mundu and speaking Malayalam were reluctant to let their friends meet their relatives or to accept that their mother-tongue was Malayalam. Children were quick to get the negative signals against the vernacular and performed badly in the subject at school. Even today there are members of the community who discourage their children from speaking in the vernacular, thus letting them develop uncertain attitudes towards the language, that actually controls the masses and through them the government and the powerful media. This indifference towards the language seems to have resulted in isolating some members of the community from the others and in not encouraging any enterprise in young men and women in the field of politics, trade and such regional level activities.

4. THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Among the traditions that were begun and encouraged by the British way of life in Fort Cochin, none has had so much popular support among the educated as the media - the newspaper, the radio and the cinema, which continue to cater to the demands

of the people in both the vernacular and the English language. The English language media provide the English language enthusiasts with a very important source of exposure to English in a predominantly Malayalam-using environment. The printing press has an ancient history in Fort Cochin. It was first established by the Portugese in the Jesuit College way back in 1557. It was called "Matre de Deus" and it used to turn out books of a religious nature in Portuguese and Latin. Another printing press in Vypeen used to bring out religious books in the vernacular. The tradition of printing secular news in English was started by the British. British Cochin's first English newspaper was begun by an engineer called William Brunton. This tradition, begun in the 19th century, was carried on by E's and then by non-E's from the famous Rose Street opposite St. Mary's Convent, where even now the descendants and relations of Sri Itoop Mampilly run a press (refer Bernard, K.L. 1977). Today it is not Rose Street that dominates the English news reading public but the Calvetti area along the harbour mouth where the Indian Express rules with undisputed power and influences the people's political judgments and prejudices considerably (refer to the map).

The people of Fort Cochin spend a lot of time browsing over books magazines and novels which are provided by the numerous reading rooms or circulating libraries. (Keralites

browsing over print is a part of the urban and rural scene). In the heart of the town there is also a reading room-cum-lending library where there are only books in English and it is a favourite haunt of the E's. One occasionally hears E parents exhorting their children to read the English language newspapers to edify the mind and the English novels to improve their mastery over spoken English. To a large number of English speaking parents, the deteriorating standard of English is a cause of alarm these days.

For the Eurasians, the radio particularly provides a necessary socio-cultural diversion in the midst of a Malayalee world. The E group takes to Western music instinctively. While passing along the roads in Fort Cochin on an evening one hears western music at intervals from E homes. Right from childhood the rhythm and sound of English is absorbed and repeated through English songs. We assume that it helps in keeping up the standard of pronunciation for the group as a whole. It certainly is a powerful link between thousands of E's scattered about the semi-continent. One may hear especially radio programmes carrying birthday greetings to Eurasian families all over India and Ceylon. This has been going on right from the British days.

To show the popularity of English in the area we may also mention the construction of a modern cinema theatre in

the town. Zaina Talkies, opened by a Muslim, has been catering to the love of English movies of hundreds of people of all the communities in the place. (It has a 70 mm screen and is only one of the many cinema halls showing English movies in the whole of greater Cochin).

5. CONCLUSION : AN INTEGRATED SOCIETY WITH SHARED LANGUAGE CONCERNS

The stability of the population and a nearly unchanging pattern of life has contributed in no small measure to the popularity of the Malayalam language and culture. In addition to language which is a major integrating factor among the communities, it is to be noted that education is also a levelling factor. Even the poor go to school and the more expensive mission schools co-operate in the endeavour to enable these to acquire education through the grant of concessions, scholarships and the like. Additionally marxism in its diluted form has made inroads into the mental perceptions of the working class to such an extent that industries are barely able to get on with their production. The literacy of the common people and their high sense of equality contributed to some extent by Christian ethos and by the trade-unions, have prevented deep socio-cultural barriers between the haves and the have-nots. These trends towards social equality have also been promoted by the lack of sharp economic disparities. One

mushrooming of private nursery schools in the English medium is another proof of the high demand for education in English especially by those who are unable to get their children admitted into the AI schools.

All is not well however in the educational sphere particularly with regard to the standard of English that is being imparted to students. This includes EM schools. It has been for quite some time evident to speakers of English from places outside Kerala, that many features of local English, especially in grammar, did not conform to what they instinctively knew to be standard English. Criticism has been voiced by individuals and some parents have even begun to send their children to the Gujarati English Medium School in neighbouring Mattacherry. Another proof of this dis-satisfaction with the standard of EM education is the opening of the "The Delta Study" by a group of residents who belong to the commercial community of Fort Cochin (refer to Section 1.1, Chapter Three). Their efforts to get response from others in the town has not been very successful, one reason being perhaps the reluctance of the people to give up their age old belief in missionary education and of course, the compulsion that the majority community of Roman Catholics feel to give their progeny a Catholic education.

An awareness of the deteriorating standards in English has been felt by E's in particular, especially because some

non-E authorities do not see the importance of getting the AI school staffed by adequate speakers of the language. The easiest way out of the problem for these schools is to recruit teachers and office workers from the E community. But other considerations seem to weigh with the appointing authorities, and at least in one of the schools one sees an indifference in this regard. Far from conditions as they were in the past, co-curricular activities are sometimes under taken with teachers who actually use Malayalam to the children. No efforts have apparently been made to make them talk English compulsorily or adequately. This uneasiness is voiced even by some members of the non-E communities.

Chapter Four

PROFILES IN LANGUAGE EXPOSURE LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE OF F.C. COMMUNITIES

0. In the language-contact situation that we examined in the last chapter we tried to show the socio-cultural milieu in which the non-indigenous English language was transmitted and developed, for more than a century. It was shown that Malayalam was the primary language of socialisation for 67% of the people, and for the others it was a necessary language for communication with the majority communities, though not a primary language of socialisation. It was also shown that for 8.3% of the people, who are E's, English is the main language in which they are socialised into their community, while a smaller number of them also use Malayalam as frequently.

In view of the fact that English is an important means of upward socio-economic mobility for the non-E's and a language of community identification and solidarity with the Anglo-Indians for the E's, differences in attitudes are expected to be held by the respective communities towards the language.

In this chapter we propose to investigate the attitudes

and exposure of the E's and non-E's to Malayalam and English and relate the same to the prevailing 'reduced' and 'expanded' systems (Jain, M.P. 1973) of English in Fort Cochin today. This shall be done with the help of the "Interlanguage Survey" that we conducted on a cross-section of Fort Cochin society and by examining the productive performance in English of the people against three important local sociolinguistic dimensions, namely cultural background, medium of instruction at school and the degree of bilingualism of the people (refer Section 3 in Chapter One).

1. THE INTERLANGUAGE SURVEY

1.1 OBJECTIVES, SCOPE, AND METHODOLOGY

The main objective in conducting the survey was to confirm our observations regarding

- a) the use of English and Malayalam by E's and non-E's ;
- b) the extent of meaningful exposure to these languages shared by them ;
- c) the attitudes of the two communities towards the two languages.

Two hundred adults and children were interviewed and administered the questionnaire. Half the number were E's and the other half non-E's, all of them natives of the place and products of one of the four prominent Catholic schools. These are : 1) St. Mary's Convent, 2) St. John de

Britto , 3) Fatima Convent, and 4) Santa Cruz. The informants were selected from different walks of life representing a cross-section of Fort Cochin society. The choice of the subjects was made on his/her ability to speak English without much difficulty as we wished to collect data on their spontaneous production of English in informal discourse for the purposes of linguistic analysis.

The four prominent Catholic schools were selected for the following reasons :

- a) they are the extensions of the cultural-linguistic expectations of the E's and the non-E's (refer Section 3.4, Chapter One)
- b) they provided the original environment for the switch-over from Portugese and Malayalam to English and Malayalam (refer Section 3.4 & 3.5, Chapter Two)
- c) they continue to provide the chief environment for the acquisition of English today (refer Section 1.1, Chapter Three).

The interview part of the survey was meant primarily to elicit spontaneous production of English utterances. A tape-recorder was used for this purpose. Questions asked were of a general nature and ranged from general queries about the informant himself/herself to things or matters of interest to him/her.

The questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first part dealt with questions on the subject's cultural background, occupations, use of and exposure to the two separate languages at home, school, in the neighbourhood, and through the media. There were also questions meant to capture the possible influence of British native-speaker teachers (if any) and the general quality of performance of teachers, parents and peers in English within the informant's area of influence especially during the formative stages of language learning.

The second part of the questionnaire was framed so as to elicit the integrative, instrumental, or anti-English motivation of the informant. There were eight major questions each with a set of responses suggesting opinions and views about the advantages and disadvantages of the two separate languages, and trying to expose concern or prejudice about them and those who use them. Each set of responses when filled in by the informant was expected to provide, a) pro-western (integrative) b) neutral (or instrumental), or c) pro-regional attitude with accompanying anti-English stance. The total score would then give an over-all profile of the person's motivation. This part was administered only to those above 12 years of age. Only 34 adults were taken into account in the final analysis of the questionnaire for both language exposure as well as attitudes. Children, Pathans, Konkaniies and those whose

questionnaires were not completed were eliminated. 52 of the informants were children below the age of twelve who could not be expected to give their opinion on language influence or motivation. Their interviews were recorded because their language data was important for the study of learners' English. The Pathans and Konkaniacs had to be eliminated because of the presence of a third language in their competence and because their languages did not have any influence on the two main bodies of mother-tongue speakers in our study (see Section 2.3, Chapter Three). Out of the 84 adults whose questionnaires were valid we give below the cultural background and medium of education for 42 non-E's.

Table No.1 A Cross-section of Non-E Informants

Cultural Background	No. of Informants	EM	MM
Latin Catholics	24	11	13
Protestants	5	4	1
Moplahs	5	3	2
Ezhavas	8	3	5
Total	42	21	21

2. THE EXPOSURE PROFILE

2.1 SCORING FOR EXPOSURE

In the section relating to language use and exposure

there were sixteen items to be scored either for English or Malayalam. Each item carried one point and the two languages were separately assessed for individual items. Briefly, the items were as follows :

- 1 & 2 Languages used by father and mother (It is possible in some cases of mixed marriages that the parents' languages are different; refer No. 12 & 13, Appendix One)
- 3 & 4 Languages used by peers : friends and neighbours (The influence of peer language is understood to be very great. A growing child may neglect his parents' language and learn that of his friends and neighbours; refer No.12, Appendix One)
- 5 & 6 Languages used with brothers/sisters and other relations; (refer No. 12, Appendix One)
- 7 & 8 Languages used by teachers and a native-speaker model (if any);(refer No.16 & 17, Appendix One)
- 9 & 10 Exposure to English or Malayalam through newspapers and books/magazines (It is a common practice for literate Fort Cochinites to read these for information and pleasure; refer No.21 & 25, Appendix One)
- 11 & 12 Exposure through the radio and cinema (For the E-D E's in particular English language programmes are very popular; refer No.26 & 27, Appendix One)

- 13 & 14 Languages used for higher education and hobbies/
other activities (Students of EI schools often use
English. MM students find it hard to cope with
college in their first years because they have
little competence to handle English; refer No.23 & 24,
Appendix One)
- 15 & 16 Stand of performance of peers and parents/teachers
in English (These may often form the models for
learners, the quality of their English significant;
refer No. 15 & 19, Appendix One)

Informants were rated either high, medium, or low in exposure level. Each item carried one mark. The total items were sixteen. Those who scored 12 points and above out of 16 were rated high in exposure, those with 4 points and less were rated low, and those in between, medium. The following table gives the percentages of informants in both the Eurasian and the non-Eurasian groups and their mean scores in exposure level for both English and Malayalam. (The table is on page 99).

2.2 THE NON-EURASIAN PROFILE

According to the indications obtained in the survey, the non-E's in Fort Cochin use Malayalam at home and learn to speak English only at school. Those who go to the AI schools are exposed to the language right from the Kindergarten. The teachers, classmates, other students, ayahs, office clerks,

Table No.2 Exposure Profile of E's & non-E's

Rating of Exposure to Malayalan and English High, Medium, Low :-	<u>Eurasians</u>		<u>Non-Eurasians</u>	
	%	Mean	%	Mean
High level of Exposure in English	76.2%	12.84	2.4%	14
Medium level of Exposure in English	19.0%	8.1	50.0%	7.4
Low level of Exposure in English	4.8%	3	47.6%	2.9
High level of Exposure in Malayalam	14.3%	11.2	71.4%	12.2
Medium level of Exposure in Malayalam	19 %	7.125	23.8%	8.8
Low level of Exposure in Malayalam	66.7%	2.25	4.8%	3.5

generally speak English. The games, singing lessons, concerts and picnics afford plenty of non-academic activities where children learn to use the language meaningfully. Non-E children in the company of their English-speaking E and non-E peers learn to speak the language of the school milieu most fluently.

Those who go to Fort Cochin Malayalam schools are taught English for the first time in Class 5. Here English becomes an academic subject like any other and not a means of inter-communication. The older children in the range of 8-9

years feel self-conscious while attempting to speak English (refer Section 2.1, Chapter One) and having already mastered the Malayalam language by this time, do not find a compulsive need to use the language. Additionally, they get no feedback from their peers, teachers and all those who surround them at school and home, as their counterparts of the AI schools do. Even by the time they leave school the IM students have very little knowledge of the working of English and how to speak it; the knowledge is not sufficient to enable them to express themselves without preparation. Therefore they seldom care to use the language in their pursuits outside the school.

In the interlanguage survey we undertook we found that IM non-E students use English and Malayalam with friends and neighbours whenever required. They also read books and papers in English, listen to radio broadcasts and watch movies in both languages. The non-E's of EI schools rate medium in level of exposure scoring 10-11 points. Some of these students are able to expand their language still further when they enter the adult world after school years, into the company of foreign shipping agents, highly placed company administrators, etc. Our tape-recordings show that these individuals speak somewhat the same kind of English as do the E-D Eurasians (refer Section 4.3.1, Chapter Four).

Most of those who attend the EM schools are able to maintain a level of medium exposure only, in the Fort Cochin environment. This is consistent with the socio-cultural norms among the non-E's who give as much importance to their mother tongue Malayalam as they do to English. Non-E's who maintain a low level of exposure are generally those who have learned English in the classrooms of the EM schools. They use a reduced system of grammar. Their use of English is often limited to an occasional conversation with a colleague or Eurasian acquaintance or an outsider.

In one case a non-E scored 14 points. Her high rating was on account of the fact that she used English at home with her parents. Her mother was a Eurasian and her father a high-ranking officer in the Navy, a Malayalee Latin Catholic.

The results of the survey show the majority of non-E's rating high in exposure to Malayalam. 71.4% of them scored high in Malayalam and only one informant, the product of a mixed marriage, scored low in this language. The value of the mother's culture is clearly predominant in the latter case. Those with a medium level of exposure to Malayalam among non-E's were only those whose nature of work required a lot of use of English. They moved in academic or business circles where quite a lot of English is used. One of these

informants is a writer of history and a retired senior-school teacher. Another belongs to the well-to-do commercial group in Fort Cochin.

2.3 THE MOTHER-TONGUE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

The majority of the E's rate high in English language exposure. They spoke English at home and outside and generally went to AI schools. There were very few who did not go to AI schools. The parents of those who did not go to E.M. schools seemed not to belong to the anglicised fraternity of their community. The E's who went to AI schools and rated only medium in the scores were those who spoke Malayalam at home along with English. Their rating in Malayalam was also medium. These are fluent bilinguals and form about 19% of the total informants. They read books in both the languages and are generally well integrated with the two communities. Their scores were about the same as that of non-E's who were products of AI schools.

Those E's who rated very high in Malayalam were 14.2% of the total E informants. In all these cases the parents spoke Malayalam at home, went to Malayalam schools and used the same language with their acquaintances and friends. Four out of these five cases belonged to the low economic bracket. One who was well-to-do belonged to parents who were originally residents outside Fort Cochin, and only spoke Malayalam.

3. THE MOTIVATION PROFILE

A socio-psychological perspective on language-learning has been incorporated in this section of our study to supplement our investigation on the language performance of our linguistic-cultural groups. Mere exposure to language without a strong motivation to adopt the other group's language and also its concomitants of cultural behaviour leads to an imperfect proficiency in the particular language. This phenomenon has been from time to time tested and proved to be true in bilingual studies where linguistic cultural groups are in contact (see 'A Role of Attitudes and Motivation in S.L. Learning by W.E. Lambert et al; Readings in the Sociology of Language by Fishman 1968).

3.1 TYPES OF MOTIVATION

To test the orientation of our linguistic cultural groups towards English and Malayalam we devised three types of motivation: pro-western, neutral (or instrumental) and pro-regional. The rationale for doing so is explained below :

English has the status of being the mother-tongue as well as the second language of different groups of people in our language contact situation. Where it is the mother-tongue, one assumes that the attitudes of the group towards English would imply a desire to identify himself/herself with the English native-speaker group in the West. This

desire to identify himself/herself with the western TL group is, we assume, a strong motivation to master the TL, the way it is spoken by native-speakers (see Section 2.1 of Chapter One). On the other hand, the second language phenomenon in general is understood to be the result of an instrumental type of motivation to learn English for the practical purposes of socio-economic advancement without a bias for western culture, or a special concern to speak like the British. Such a motivation, we assume, makes the learner satisfied with the kind of English that is spoken by educated Indian speakers in general.

Pro-regional motivation may be understood as a set of attitudes that reflect a bias for the Malayalee ethos, the Malayalam language, and including a slight degree of antagonism to western concepts and cultural behaviour.

In our interpretation of the Eurasians we wish to show that their use of English as a mother-tongue does not indicate an emotional identification with the western or British stereotype. Facts of history prove that Roman Catholic Portuguese-Malayalee bilinguals did not favour the British Protestant ethos. The socio-cultural history of the Eurasians, in the first few decades of this century, shows a self-conscious and painful adjustment of the Malayalamised members to the western way of life. What we wish to point out is that a general desire for socio-economic advancement and the knowledge that it was necessary to organize themselves on an All India level prompted them to join the AI's and not special

feelings of identity with the Europeans. E's were already nativised in speech, customs and manners to a considerable extent when the Protestant British came on the scene. E's shared no religious identification with either the Dutch or the British (refer Section 2.1, Chapter Two).

3.2 INDEX OF MOTIVATION

There were 8 sets of questions (refer Appendix One) with their accompanying responses placed in a random order in the questionnaire. The informant was asked to tick off the responses closest to his own point of view. Out of the many responses only 15 were selected in the final analysis on the basis of the reliability test that was administered to a panel of 20 judges. It was the near consensus of the judges that the following sets of responses were fairly close to what they considered to be statements showing a western, neutral (or instrumental), or regional bias.

Statements showing a Pro-Western Attitude :

1. Indian children should be taught English by British or American teachers
2. Indians who use no English at all in our environment are uneducated and backward
3. Children need to learn English for the purpose of creative writing
4. A highly developed interest in the English language and culture is beneficial for the Indian mind

5. Indians should study English because it is socially more prestigious

Statements showing a Neutral or Instrumental Attitude : -

1. English gives us the latest knowledge in sciences and arts
2. It provides more job opportunities
3. It is a necessary link language in India
4. Children need to be taught English to be able to hold their own with the Indian public
5. There is an Indian variety of English

Statements showing a Pro-Regional Attitude with Anti-English Stance:-

1. Malayalam helps one to appreciate one's own culture and life-style against the western style and culture
2. Too much English language and culture makes us emotionally uprooted from our own society and culture
3. Those who use only Malayalam in our environment do so because they are more national-minded and act so on principle
4. I would feel quite happy at the abolition of English as the medium of instruction
5. The regional language should be taught compulsorily in the schools because it is the language of the region.

3.3 SCORING

Each statement or item was assigned one point. There were 5 items for each subset. Those who scored 425 were rated

high in each of the sub-sets of attitudes, those who scored 2&3 were rated medium and those with scores of one and less than one were rated as low.

3.4 PROFILE ON EURASIANS

Table No.3 Motivation Profile on Eurasians

Level of Motivation	% of Informants	Mean Scores Obtained
High level of Pro-Western motivation	9.5%	4.25
Medium level of Pro-Western motivation	50%	2.57
Low level of Pro-Western motivation	40.5%	0.82
High level of Instrumental Motivation	38.1%	4.3
Medium level of Instrumental Motivation	54.8%	2.3
Low level of Instrumental Motivation	7.1%	1.0
High level of Pro-Regional Motivation	2.4%	4.0
Medium level of Pro-Regional Motivation	38.1%	2.2
Low level of Pro-Regional Motivation	59.5%	0.48

No. of informants tested was 42.

In the table above, the average obtained in the various levels of motivation has been shown. The Pro-Western motivation shows a moderate average of 2.57 out of 5 for half the number of informants among the E's. Of the other half 40.5% have a very low profile on pro-regional motivation with only a small minority of 9.5% showing a high western bias.

What is according to expectation is the high percentage of E's who opt for English because of its utility value. Only a small minority have no ambitions at all with regard to the language-leaving the big majority ambitious for the advantages it brings in the form of knowledge, mobility, self esteem and the rest.

What has again been proved according to expectations is the indifference that the E's show to the vernacular. Modern Eurasian leadership concerned primarily with financial and political tie-ups at the state level have perhaps more than anything else slowed the process of vernacularisation of the community (refer Section 3.4 and 3.5 in Chapter Two).

Table No.4 Motivation Profile on Non-Eurasians

Motivation	% of Informants	Mean Scores Obtained
High Pro-Western	14.3%	4.3
Medium Pro-Western	59.5%	2.4
Low Pro-Western	26.2%	0.73

Motivation	% of Informants	Mean Scores Obtained
High Instrumental	42.9%	4.5
Medium Instrumental	57.1%	2.54
High Pro-Regional	2.4%	4.0
Medium Pro-Regional	64.3%	2.3
Low Pro-Regional	33.3%	0.71

In the motivation profile 50% of E's and 59.5% of non-E's view the western TL group as superior in English language performance and general cultural educational progress. 40.5% of E's and 26.2% of non-E's show very little pro-Western bias. If we contrast the two groups more non-E's than E's show this.

Both non-E's and E's show a high neutral (instrumental) motivation, a recognition of the fact that knowledge of English is necessary for scientific advancement, more job opportunities, for mobility and self-image. It acknowledges English to be a 'native' phenomena in the sense that it has been assimilated by Indians sufficiently to warrant the existence of a variety called Indian English.

The profile of the E's on the pro-regional scale is low. 59.5% of them seem to associate no particular weightage to the advantages of regional culture or the necessity of learning Malayalam or the negative impact of excessive

interest in English or emotional integration with the people of the region. Barring one who shows high level motivation to learn Malayalam (he is a Malayalam speaking Feringhee) the rest show only medium motivation, i.e., a general acknowledgement of Malayalam as a tool for communication in Kerala and also some appreciation of the Malayalee culture.

Even non-E's do not show a high profile in orientation to Malayalam language and culture. 33.3% of them show a low profile, a tendency to regard the regional language and culture of no special consequence. There seems to be no pronounced bias against English among them.

The interest to learn English is also borne out by the profile on parental encouragement. 38% more of E parents and about 20% more of non-E parents consciously encourage their children to learn English than to learn Malayalam.

On the whole the two groups show similar patterns of orientation towards the utility of English as a means of socio-economic advancement. No party shows a special orientation to pro-western values. But the E's show a greater degree of indifference to Malayalam and its advantages than the non-E's.

Table No.5 Parental Encouragement to Learn English & Malayalam

	E Parents	Non-E Parents
Encouragement to learn English	78.57%	72.61%
Encouragement to learn Malayalam	40.47%	53.57%

4. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE PROFILE

4.1 CULTURAL IDENTITY AND PRONUNCIATION

That the ability to perceive the distinction between phonological features is affected by the social significance of the distinction within a speech community has been shown by Labov (refer Section 2.1, Chapter One). The need to be identified as an Anglo-Indian, it may be argued, has affected the perception and acquisition of pronunciation of the E's of Fort Cochin. It seems to have promoted among them a more careful discrimination between English and the sounds of the regional language and helped to preserve some finer distinctions of English pronunciation which have been lost to the large majority of non-E's. Even those E's who do not have the advantage of an AI school education, or parents who speak the language, seem to use the Eurasian model of pronunciation.

Non-E children who go to the AI schools in Fort Cochin imitate this model. Being of a tender age, they are not able

to discriminate between the different socio-cultural groups and therefore the kind of pronunciation they acquire depends on the orientation of their parents who choose to send them to these schools. The opportunity to imitate this model is not available to Malayalam school children for their teachers are generally non-E MM products. Besides, the E's are fewer in number and the non-E child may not have sufficient contacts with the members of the E community in his language formative years. Those who do have them show a more neutral pronunciation although they may be MM students.

4.1.1 Intonation and Stress

Some time during the period of transmission of English from a few British speakers to a few AI's and to many E's and non-E's in Fort Cochin, the intonation features of British English were unconsciously crased. Currently the intonation patterns of E English as a whole are very similar to those used in Malayalam.

In BE, when an utterance is non-final, open and inclusive, a rising tone is used, as when a response is expected (refer Quirk et al 1972) :

a. You're going already?

The British use a fall-rise to show a doubtful condition especially with adverbials:

- b. I'll see him if he comes

The converse of this is a rise-fall which is used to express a genuine warmth, sarcasm, surprise or shock.

- c. That's wonderful

The falling tone is used in statements that are conclusive, and in imperatives

- d. I'm determined to go

- e. Get out of my sight

In Malayalam utterances the falling tone is used for making statements of facts and to indicate determination.

- a) su:raṁ aṣṭameccu, Vi:tt̥il po:ka:m
 sun set home+in go+shall
 = The sun has set, we shall go home.

- b) it̥ra ne:raṁ eViṭe po:yirunnu
 so+much time where gone+had
 = Where had you been gone for such a long time

Where questions are put just to make polite conversation without really intending to get explanations for the other's actions, the speaker may use the rising tone :

- c) eViṭe po:yi. eppo:L Vannu.

Where had you been? When did you come

Questions which expect yes-no responses like the following also take the rising tone :

avaL Varummo:-

she come+Question

Will she come?

The rising tone is also used in exclamations of surprise, consternation, pity, etc.

e) aVaL /Vanna!

She Come+Question

Has she come!

f) /aiyyo! eNdiNa:Nu?

= Oh dear! Why do you do that!

g) In the imperative, the falling tone as well as the rising tone may be used, depending upon the attitudes of the speaker.

g1) When the speaker is trying to be persuasive with warmth of feeling the rising tone is used :-

iViṭe /Va: no!ne:

here come son

= Come here, son

g2) the same when said with a falling tone would mean anger coupled with determination :-

iViṭe Va:ta

here come

= Come here

g3) or hurry:-

iViṭe /Va:ta

here come

= come here

The level intonation pattern indicates a pause, as in a sentence. It is also used in prayers and commentaries, as is the case in British English.

In connected speech the local Malayalam patterns show a frequent use of rising and falling tones which seem to be reflected in local English speech performance as well. We shall presently point out some of their functions as observed in the conversation of Fort Cochinites. Although the example given here of connected speech is that of a balanced bilingual, it must be noted that these intonation patterns are present in some degree or other in the performance of all groups of speakers. The two speakers shall be referred to as S1 (the one who puts the questions) and S2 (the one who gives the answers):

S1. What's your full name?

S2. You want the official one or the other? Just Irabavathi.

S1. That's your pet name

S2. I was Christened that way. Not my pet-name

S1. What was your father?

S2. My father was working in the E.N.S. They were tea-brokers; Wellington Island.

S1. Now at present you are, er, what are you?

S2. Lecturer in U.C. College.

S1. If you compare Maharaja's with U.C., do you think U.C. is up to the mark?

- S2 There is something of sentimental attachment also to Maharaja's. My view may not be impartial.
- S1. I like partial ones (Laughter) They're more interesting.
- S2. I don't think U.C. is up to the mark. No. The coaching there itself, I think there should be a little more preparation done by the lecturers. Yes, I think so.
- S1. What else, you're a mixed group, boys and girls?
- S2. Boys and girls, as in Maharaja's. There's a sad lack of discipline. And, last year also we felt there must be ... It's no use complaining, him.
- S1. The manager is no good?
- S2. Of course, I can't say he's no good.
- S1. Can you give some information about the politics ...
- Of course, I don't know much about Kerala students. What's going on in these colleges?
- S2. Politics, of course, as usual. I've not much experience there. I don't know much of it. Then you have the usual groups.
- S1. Are these students from that area itself?
- S2. There are many coming from Kottayam, and from Travancore side. And some of them have a liking for this college.
- S1. You must be pretty popular there. Pretty teacher.
- S2. But that has nothing to do with teaching (Laughter).
- S1. I used to be fond of pretty teachers. We used to have one in class. We used to wait for her to come to take a look at her face.

S2. I think that interferes with teaching. (Laughter).

S1. But then how do the boys behave towards you?

S2. On the whole, they're o'kay.

Functions of the Rising and Falling Tones in Utterances :

In some of the sentences used above and also in sentences used by other speakers, the rising tone is present with modifiers, and the falling tone accompanies the part which follows it:

1. On the whole, they're o'kay.
2. Usually, what I have to teach.
3. It is hereafter that our children will suffer.
4. And, last year also we felt ...
5. Somewhere or the other we managed.

These tones also seem to emphasize topicalised noun phrases, adjectives and verbs which form the nucleus of information : -

1. There is no guarantee, that you'll get a job.
2. Diagnosis, they had all the lab tests.
3. And some of them have a liking for this college.
4. Politics, of course, as usual.
5. You want the official one or the other.
6. There is something of sentimental attachment also.
7. I was christened that way. Not my pet-name.

These tones seem to be used also to indicate doubt, unwillingness etc. as in the following incomplete utterances :-

1. They were doing their best for her ...
2. Of course, they may be more paying ...
3. Of course, I can't say he's no good ...

Eurasian English follows the stress-timed pattern of R.P. more closely than non-E English. The latter group's English is conspicuously syllable-timed as Malayalam is. There are tendencies for E's however to often misplace the stress as in examples like the following :

Religious	is stressed as	'religious
Electricity	as	electricity
Dictation	as	'dictation
Engineer	as	'engineer
Photography	as	'photography

Words that have the same spelling with different uses as noun and verb in B⁷, take stress in the first syllable for nouns and second syllable for verbs. Fort Cochinites do not know the difference as they do not know many other peculiarities of stress in English or the pronunciation of unusual words.

Here are a few examples of stress as used by them :

Export (verb) and export (noun)

Record (verb) and record (noun)

As in grammar, so also in the use of stress, speakers tend to use analogy and thus miss the many exceptions to the rule.

4.1.2 VOWELS AND CONSONANTS

To show the general differences in the pronunciation patterns of Eurasian and non-Eurasian English, we shall present comparative charts on the vowels and consonants used in Malayalam and English locally. The symbols used are not all those used to transcribe sounds in R.P. New symbols have been used to facilitate typing as well as the transcription of Malayalam sounds (refer to page xv).

Table No.6 Malayalam Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:	ə	u u:
Middle	e e:		o o:
Low		a a:	

The diphthongs used in Malayalam are /au/ and /ai/. (refer Nayar V.R.P. Malayalam Verbal Forms, 1972, page 10).

Table No.7 Eurasian English Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:	ə ə:	u u:
Middle	e e:		o o:
Low		a a:	ɒ ɒ:

The diphthongs used are /ai/, /au/, /ɛə/, /oi/, /iə/, /ʊə/.

Eurasians seem to use all the pure vowels of R.P. but not all the diphthongs. In place of the R.P. diphthongs /ei/ and /əu/, Eurasians use the pure long vowel [e:] and [o:]. /iə/ is sometimes substituted by [i:] in pronunciation of certain words by E's, such as 'zero', 'serious' but it is retained in other words such as 'near' and 'fear'; [zi:ro] [si:riəs], [niə] [fiə].

The non-E's :

As we have pointed out in Section 4.1 of this chapter, non-E's who go to EM schools in Fort Cochin acquire the Eurasian pronunciation and those who go to IM schools have more regional language features in their spoken English.

On the whole the vowels used by IM speakers in English are reduced in number. The vowels which do not seem to be used by them are the following :-

/ɛ/, /ə:/, /o/, and /o:/.

Because they substitute these with Malayalam sounds or approximate sounds, the results are as follows :

- They say
1. [ge:1] for /gə:1/ (girl)
 2. [Hoɽ] for /hOt/ (hot)
 3. [so:ri] for /sO:ri/ (sorry)
 4. [me:n] for /men/ (man)
 5. Additionally [boi] for /bOi/ (boy)

6. and like E's they use [ɔ:] and [o:] for R.F. diphthongs /ei/ and /əu/
7. Also like E's they use [i:] instead of R.F. /iə/ in 'serious' and 'zero'
8. E's do not use [r] in postvocalic positions Eg., /ˈkɑː/ as in 'car'. Non-E's (MM) use [r] in post vocalic positions Eg. [kɑːr] , [moːtər] as in 'car' and 'motor'

Malayalam Consonants not present in R.F.

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 1. Plosives | - <u>t</u> and <u>d</u> (retroflex) <u>t</u> and <u>d</u> (dental) |
| 2. Nasals | - <u>n</u> (dental) and N(retroflex) <u>ɳ</u> (palatal) |
| 3. Lateral | - <u>l</u> (retroflex) |
| 4. Flapped | - R (retroflex) |
| 5. Fricatives | - S (retroflex); H (velar) |
| 6. Continuant | - Y (retro,); V (labiodental) |

R.F. Consonants not present in Malayalam :-

1. Fricatives - /f/ And /v/ (labio-dentals) /θ/ and /ð/ (dentals);
/z/ (alveolar) /ʃ/ (palatal)
2. Continuant - /w/ (bilabial)

Malayalam Sounds Used to Substitute for BE Sounds in E & Non-E English :-

1. R.F. Fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are substituted by dentals [t̪]
and [d̪]

2. R.P. fricative /v/ is substituted by continuant [V]
3. R.P. bilabial continuant /w/ with lip-rounding is substituted by [V] which is a labiodental continuant.
4. R.P. glottal /h/ which is voiced is often used without voice. In Malayalam /H/ is voiceless.

The Eurasians do not use retroflex sounds like [ɖ] & [ɗ] in place of R.P. alveolar /t/ and /d/ like the non-E (MI) speakers generally do.

In the following lists we shall give the R.P. version of the pronunciation and follow it with Eurasian pronunciation (E.P.) and then Regionalized Malayalee Pronunciation (R.M.P.)

Table No. 8 A Comparative Chart of R.P., E.P., and R.M.P.

Words	R.P.	E.P.	R.M.P.
1. member	/ˈmembə/	[ˈmembə]	[membə r]
2. owner	/ˈəʊnə/	[ˈo:nə]	[o:ner]
3. flood	/fləd/	[fləd]	[fləd][fled]
4. youngster	/ˈjʌnstə/	[ˈjʌnistə]	[yeɪnstə r]
5. extra	/ˈekstrə/	[ˈekstrə]	[estra]
6. exempted	/ɪgˈzemptɪd/	[ə gˈzemptɪd]	[esemptə d]
7. next	/nekst/	[nekst]	[nest]
8. explain	/ɪkˈspleɪn/	[ɪkˈsple:n]	[esple:n]
9. all	/o:l/	[o:l]	[o:l]
10. also	/ˈo:lsoʊ/	[ˈo:lso:]	[o:lso]

11. toddy	/ 'tɒ:di/	['tɒ:di]	[tɒ:di]
12. knowledge	/ 'nɒ:liʒ/	['nɒ:ləʒ]	[nɒ:leʒ]
13. hot	/ hɒt/	[hɒt][ɒt]	[Hot]
14. four	/ fəʊ/	[fo:]	[fo:r]
15. love	/ lav/	[laV]	[lauV]
16. very	/ 'veri/	['Veri]	[Veri]
17. government	/ 'gavmənt/	[gaVmənt]	[geVerment]
18. number	/ 'nambə/	['nambə]	[nambə r]
19. daddy	/ 'dædi/	[dædi]	[dædi][dædi]
20. serial	/ 'si:riəl/	['si:riəl]	[si:riəl]
21. really	/ 'ri:li/	['ri:li]	[ri:li]
22. chair	/ ceə/	[ceə]	[ce:r]
23. happy	/ hepi/	[hepi][Hepi]	[Hepi]
24. think	/ Tɪnk/	[tɪnk]	[tɪnk]
25. educate	/ 'edʒukeit/	['eduke:t]	[eduke:t]
26. digestion	/ daiʒescən/	['daijesən]	[daijes n]
27. individual	/ indi'viʒuəl/	['indiViʒuəl]	[indiViʒuəl]
28. motorboat	/ 'məʊtəbəʊt/	['mo:tə bo:t]	[mo:tə r bo:t]
29. pork	/ pɔ:k/	[po:k]	[po:rk]
30. spoil	/ spɔil/	[spɔil]	[spoil]
31. birds	/ bɜ:dz/	[bɜ:dz]	[be:ds]
32. that	/ Det/	[dæt]	[de:t]
33. thirty	/ 'Tɜ:ti/	[tɜ:ti]	[te:r.ti]
34. then	/ Den/	[den]	[den]

35. mouth	/mauT/	[naut]	[naut]
36. water	/wO:t ə/	[wO:tə]	[Va:tə r]

E's often tend to shorten /O:/ to [O]

4.2 VARIATION ACROSS MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOL

In the introduction to this thesis we tried to argue that the English medium and Malayalam schools of Fort Cochin provide the main environments for the learning of English. We pointed out that in our sociolinguistic situation EM schools provide a closer substitute to the native-speaker environment than the latter. The main reason for this is the long period of exposure to English which is deliberately provided by the school system. It may happen in some cases, for reasons peculiar to the management, that some of the schools which are called English medium schools do not provide sufficient safeguards against the creation of a bilingual environment. This invariably happens with the appointment of teachers, clerks, ayahs etc. who are not equipped to use English in the multifarious activities of school life. Without going into any detail we wish to point out that in Fort Cochin the old traditions in the schools ensured that a monolingual environment for English was provided. These traditions are not however being kept up strictly in the schools. In one there is a conspicuous bilingual environment with the effect that the standard of English in the school is not the same as it used

to be some decades ago. Nevertheless, even with the fall in the standard of English, the EM schools on the whole provide a more expanded system to the students than do the Malayalam schools. We should like to demonstrate this through an analysis of the English language performance of the students of the four main schools in our language situation displaying the similarities and differences in their productive performance in written and spoken English as seen in our data.

For our study we took samples of written and spoken English of students from the 1st class to the 10th class of the two EM schools, St. Mary's Convent Anglo-Indian Girls' High School and St. John de Britto Anglo-Indian Boys' High School, and from the 5th class to the 10th class of two MM schools, Santa Cruz Boys' High School and Fatima Convent Girls' High School. The purpose of the survey was to find out the grammatical competence of the students at the learning stage and thus be able to compare the general features of their performance with that of the adult community with its categories of speakers. By "learning stage" here we do not mean the strictly defined linguistic stage of learning, but the broader one of school learning. We assume that students continue learning the language in our school system, because the school provides the main environment to many. As one may note by a close examination of the possible deviations used

in the adult system (refer Section 4.3 of this chapter), proficiency in speaking a more adequate English is helped by language experience at schools even for some Eurasians who do not always have the adequate models at home.

Four students, two E's and two non-E's, were randomly chosen from each class for the experimental test. In the Malayalan schools, as expected, E students were very few. Because of the limited time available and lack of sufficient opportunities to get acquainted with a large number of students (this would have facilitated the elicitation of speech from them), it was decided to get them to supplement their spontaneous speech performance with small compositions which were written by them in our presence. The compositions were to be written by them in about 15 to 20 minutes and could range over the most familiar subjects such as oneself, one's family, school, hobbies, etc. The elicitation of speech was done separately for each student who was asked simple questions about himself/herself and his/her interests. His/her speech was tape-recorded. The MM students generally repeated what they had written down in their compositions except when the topic was deliberately changed by us to obtain more spontaneous data.

4.2.1 ERRORS IN THE LEARNERS' SYSTEMS

Young children between the age of two to three and a half generally preserve nouns, verbs, adjectives, and omit

articles, prepositions and the copula (refer Brown, R. 1973; MacNeill, D. 1970). They also omit inflections on verbs and the possessive inflection on nouns. They are also not able to use higher order transformations of the auxiliary system, or transformations from simple to compound, active to passive sentences, etc. At a later stage when they are about to attend school, or in the first years of schooling, they begin to show, stage by stage, certain errors which indicate the stage of the grammar they have managed to internalize. These developmental errors get erased in time with growth in age and continuous exposure to the correct forms of speech of the adults.

As expected, the children from the first few classes of the EM schools in our situation (between 5 to 7 years of age) did not show any interference from or use of vernacular language rules. Their errors, like those of native-speaker learners of this age, were developmental in nature. These mainly belonged to the use of inflections and rarely involved the use of articles. There was not a single instance of the omission of the copula, or of prepositions and articles, as one would expect in a beginner, similarly as one does in children of 2 to 3½ years among native-speaker learners. These systematic errors in the performance of EM children of the first few classes showed a marked contrast with the errors of the students of MM schools who belonged to the age group of 8 to 12 years, and were being

taught English for the first time from the 5th class onward. They regularly omitted the copula, prepositions and articles and they mixed up the auxiliary verb forms in particular. They also omitted the possessives and conjugation functors or misused them as did their counter-parts in the EM schools.

We shall attempt to outline the kinds of errors that systematically appear in the written and spoken performance of students in the EM and MM categories. By 'errors' we imply mistakes of language that are not acceptable to the adult speech community to which the learners belong. This makes errors different from deviations which are acceptable to the speech community we are describing, at least in colloquial discourse, as the language data definitely shows. Most of the errors that we have in mind are the ones that are generally accepted as errors in current linguistic analysis of learners' English also.

Errors Committed by EM Students from Class I to Class 3 :

- (a) Omission of the 's' functor in the verb conjugation rule
 - (a1) My cat catch rats
 - (a2) It eat bones and rice
 - (a3) At night he sleep

It must be mentioned that at this stage of learning there is more of uncertainty about the rule, than lack of it altogether.

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The same student for instance uses it on one occasion but does not do so on another.

(a4) My daddy likes me very much. Mummy also like. My daddy do rice business.

b)) Omission of articles : The articles are generally not omitted by EM students. In the language performance data of about 80 odd students the only instance of a missing article was the following :
Even here the rule is not entirely absent :

"I got cat. I got cow. Cow has four legs. The goat has ~~four~~ legs. I got a knife. I got a goat".

c) The Possessive :

(c₁) My dog name Motie

(c₂) My doll is name Rani

(c₃) My father name is Rodney. My brother's name is Sandy.

d) The Copula : There was only one instance of the omission of the copula :

(d₁) My dog name Motie

Errors Committed by EM Students from Class 5 to Class 10 :

We have bracketed students from Class 5, when instruction in English is started, to Class 10, when the school period is complete, because the errors that were found in the former occur in the speech performance of older students too. That

these errors are not eradicated over a period of six years is not surprising in view of the limited actual exposure to English which the students obtain, where English is confined to the class room and the teachers, with no immediate opportunity to use whatever learning is acquired. As a result, the rules are often there but are almost always broken.

(a) Omission of the Copula :

- (a₁) My friend, Shankuntala
- (a₂) Two cows in our house
- (a₃) My brother's name Jain
- (a₄) My father accountant
- (a₅) Our school full of boys

(b) Omission of Prepositions :

- (b₁) Mother is house
- (b₂) We went a journey to Velankanni
- (b₃) We saw many waterfalls the eastern side
- (b₄) She is going to her house which is Thevera
- (b₅) I work hard, 4 p.m. to 6 p.m.

(c) Missing Articles

- (c₁) It is small house
- (c₂) There are over thousand pupils in our school
- (c₃) It is three-storyed building
- (c₄) I am class leader
- c₅ Mother, she is peon in village office

(d) Errors in subject-verb concord

- (d1) I am two brothers
- (d2) My animals is cow, calf, and dog
- (d3) The desk was ten
- (d4) The bench was ten
- (d5) There is two andu (goats)

(e) Difficulties in the use of vocabulary :

- (e1) The journey is full of jokes
- (e2) Also we can know the language nicely
- (e3) It gives the true news
- (e4) News papers lead us to the true path

(f) Problems in the use of tense forms and adverbs :

- (f1) We interested in having a dip
- (f2) She explains very attractive
- (f3) She is taught us biology
- (f4) By reading news papers our knowledge is increasing

4.2.2 CRITERIA OF EXPANDED AND REDUCED SYSTEMS

Among the expectations about adequate speakers of English, the following seem to fit the description for our purposes. The speakers should not make errors of the kind that are listed above; they should have sufficient control of the grammatical structures and lexical items and discourse devices so as to be able to speak extempore on any subject

an informal fashion within a familiar range of experience. We do not include here higher level arguments, or specialised knowledge, which are possible for the more intelligent speakers but can make an average one quite tongue-tied. This ability to communicate in ordinary language, nevertheless, will require the use of complex grammatical structures within a sentence, co-ordinate and sub-ordinate clauses in complex sentences, and the use of relations across sentences with sentence connectors such as repetition of lexical items or near-equivalent items, the use of proforms and syntactic devices. A contrastive study of EM and MI performance in English along these lines should provide further evidence that the former have a more expanded system than the latter.

4.2.3 PERFORMANCE PROFILE OF EM STUDENTS

At the very outset of our data collection in the Malayalam schools it was apparent that students, in spite of their intelligence and willingness to co-operate, some times found it extremely difficult to understand simple questions put to them and often to carry on a simple conversation. Since the questions put to them were within a familiar range of self, family, friends, the school, etc., some amount of response was elicited. It is significant that the ones who selected topics outside this range in the written exercises wrote about newspapers, Gandhiji, villages in India, and repeated these

topics at the time of their speech recording. Evidently they felt comfortable in what seemed to be a repetition of a topic possibly prepared earlier in some of their classes or home assignments.

Samples from MM Schools (All speakers are non-E's) :

MM speaker No.1 (Class 5, 9 years) :

"I am studying in Santa Cruz High School. I live in Fort Cochin. I like football. My father is a typist".

MM speaker No.2 (Class 7, 11 years) :

"My friend, Shankutala. She is a good girl. She speaks Malayalam. Sometimes she is lazy. I work hard 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. Morning, I study, 5 o'clock to 7 o'clock. My father is a record assistant. Mummy work in the kitchen".

MM speaker No.3 (Class 9, 13 years) :

"We all will read newspapers. By reading newspapers our knowledge is increasing. There are different kinds of newspapers. We can know more about other country and state news. Newspaper are very useful for us. Also we can know the language nicely. Newspapers leads us to the true path. It gives us the true news about other countries.

MM speaker No.4 (Class 10, 14 years) :

"The name of the teacher is Marykutty. She is social. She is taught us biology. She's going to her home which is Thevera.

maternity leave. Her class is very interesting. She explains very attractive. My social studies teacher - she is also Mary. She is studying there now. I am living in Odathul. My father is ... My mother is a teacher."

III speaker No.5 (Class 10, 14 years) :

"22nd May or so, a number of us we went to an excursion to Iddikki. It was a thrilling experience. We saw many beautiful sceneries all around. First we reached Muvattupuzha. We saw the new wonderful power house. It is built in a cave of a huge mountain. When we reached Muvattupuzha, I thought I was in a fairy-land. There were many kinds of lights in ... After having a look at the power house we made our journey to Iddikki. At 4 p.m. we reached there. On the way we saw the beautiful sceneries all round ... full of green trees and mountains, rivers. We interested in having a dip. Our bus was in a very speed".

Single and Complex Structures :

Out of the total 47 sentences used by five speakers the following 5 sentences alone are complex in structure :

(a) Relative clause :

She's going to her house which is (in) Thevera

(b) Adverb clause of time and complement clause :

When we reached Muvattupuzha, I thought I was in a fairy

- (c) Adverb clause of time :

After having looked at the power house, we made our journey to Idikki.

- (d) Non-finite clause :

By reading newspapers our knowledge is increasing.

- (e) Co-ordinate clause :

We can know more about our country and state news.

Noun Phrases :

Most of the noun phrases in the given samples of speech are quite simple in construction. The most common ones are personal pronouns because of the nature of the topics chosen. The others are

- (b) Possessive + noun - my father
- (c) Definite article + adjective + noun - the true path, the other countries
- (d) Adjective + noun - beautiful sceneries (scenery)
- (e) Adj. (noun) + noun - maternity leave, record assistant
- (f) Determiner + noun + prepositional phrase - a cave of a huge mountain, the name of the teacher

Verb Phrases :

The III students seem very of using the auxiliary forms in English. This is not strange in view of the fact that even adults sometimes make errors in this area of English grammar. As we shall see in the popular systems of Fort Cochin English (Chapter Five), this is an area fraught with possibilities of

deviation from the norm through over-generalisation of rules and the use of near-equivalents in Malayalam grammar. Most of the beginners use the simple present most of the time and occasionally the simple past and the present progressive.

- (a) Copula + adjective - is lazy; is interesting
 + noun - is a teacher, is Marykutty
- (b) Simple present - live, work
- (c) Simple past - went, built
- (d) Present progressive - am studying

There are only three adverbs used: hard, attractive (ly) and nicely. The adverb for speed was mistakenly put as very (fourth speaker).

Use of Sentence Connectors in Discourse :

In connected speech one looks for semantic implications in the sentences juxtaposed together, for such clues as lexical equivalents or near-equivalents and syntactic devices which help the listener's comprehension. In the following examples, the commonest of devices used is the repetition of lexical items sometimes using their pro-forms or sometimes changing their function. (see Quirk et al, Chapter Ten, 1972).

- (a) Lexical repetition - I is used 3 times by speaker 1. It seems to be the main connector for him. The function of I changes to my in the last sentence.

(b) Change of function of lexical item used by MI speaker 3 -

She changes to her. On the whole lexical repetition has been overused by this speaker. Out of the eight sentences she has used, she uses the word newspaper in five. The speech gives one the idea that the user is a beginner in the language.

(c) Time and place relators - Speaker 4 has used these with good effect in her narrative. First, when and after connect the sentences as time relators. On the way provides a spatial relator to the narrative.

(d) Logical connectors - Sometimes is used by the second speaker with concessional force to provide a surprising declaration that her friend is also lazy in spite of being good. also adds additive force to the usefulness of reading newspapers, which is mentioned earlier.

Samples from MI Schools (E's and non-E's) :

E Speaker No.1 (Class 1, 5 years) :

"I have a big garden, it is in frient of my house, there are many plants in it;there are many roses in it. I worter my garden".

(The speaker spells front as frient and water as worter).

Non-E Speaker No.2 (Class 3, 7 years) :

"My daddy's born here, my munny I don't know. My munny, I think she born in Calicut. I like to play and study. We went to Kotalam with my friend and all, with their daddy and all.

We took there dinner and all. We saw Nitu Singh in one bus, there. I don't have brothers or sisters".

E Speaker No.3 (Class 7, 12 years) :

"We are five people, altogether, my daddy, mummy, brother, sister and me. Daddy is a clerk in Harrison and Crossby. Mummy works at home. Brother is studying in St. Johns de Britto's. My baby sister is still small. She is not studying. She'll complete two years this March 26th. I am twelve years old. I'll complete 13 in March 20th.

E Speaker No.4 (Class 9, 13 years) :

"She's over here. She's got only two children. They are all fine. I never met them, except brother. One is in Australia and one is in Calcutta".

Non-E Speaker No.5 (Class 9, 13 years) :

"A hobby is a thing that a person likes to do during his leisure time. Instead of being idle people can have different things to amuse themselves. Anyway, my hobby is to read any kind of story books be they long or short. One of the books that amuses me most is Enid Blyton's. It tells of little children that have very remarkable adventures. I like comics also. I have other hobbies of which are collecting stamps and gardening etc. But the hobby which I like most is reading. Usually people who know me call me a bookworm".

Simple and Complex Sentences :

In the case of MI students, only five out of 47 sentences were complex. Among the 37 sentences used by five EM students there

11 sentences containing subordinate clauses, 2 containing co-ordinating clauses; the rest are simple sentences.

(a) Co-ordinate clauses :

(a1) We went to Kotalan with my friends and all, with their daddy and all

(a2) One is in Austrolia and one is in Calcutta

(b) Complement clause containing two infinitives :

(b1) I like to play and study

(c) Two non-finite clauses :

(c1) Instead of being idle people can ... to amuse themselves

(d) Relative clause + infinitive acting as complement :

(d1) A hobby is a thing that a person likes to do during his ... time

(e) Infinitive+adverbial clause :

(e1) Anyway, my hobby is to read ... be they short or long

(f) Relative clauses :

(f1) One of the books which ... Blyton's

(f2) It tells of children who ... adventures

(f3) I have other ... which are collecting stamp and gardening etc.

(f4) But the hobby which I ... reading

(f5) Usually people who ... bookworm

Noun Phrase Structure :

(a) Pronouns - he, she, we, they, I

(b) Indefinite article + noun - a hobby, a person, a bookworm

(c) ordinal + noun - two years

- (d) adjective + noun - this March
- (e) possessive + noun - my hobby, my daddy, my hobby etc.
- (f) reflexive pronoun - themselves
- (g) Intensifier + adjective + noun - very remarkable adventures
- (h) Participle + noun - collecting stamps
- (i) gerund - reading
- (j) preforms - one, other, then, all, it

Verb Phrases :

- (a) Copula + noun - are five people
 - " + adjective - is small
 - " + adverb - is here
 - " + gerund - is reading
 - " + prepositional phrase - is in Australia
- (b) Dummy do - don't
- (c) Negative - Don't
- (d) Modals - can, will
- (e) Progressive - is studying
- (f) Simple present - think, like, tells etc.
- (g) Simple past - went, took, saw, etc.

Sentence Connectors :

- (a) Lexical repetitions - Speaker No.1 uses an impressive lexical set to speak about her hobby - garden, roses, plants, water; the ease with which she connects these simple sentences may be on account of the fact that she also uses the language at home. The use of lexical sets is a general feature of most

of the speakers, including the third and fifth ones. The third one has two sets, one of kinship terms, daddy, nunny, brother, and sister, about whom she speaks one after the other in terms of occupation, which in turn warrants another set of lexical items related to firm, home, and study. The final speaker uses a most impressive array of words to describe her hobby - leisure, idle, books, adventures, comics, collecting stamps, gardening, reading and bookworm.

(b) Use of time relators - What is remarkable in the third passage is the ease with which the speaker handles different facets of time from the existential be to the progressive and future aspects: "My baby sister is still small; she is not studying; she will complete two years in March 11". This gives a smooth concatenation of facts in their proper aspectual order. Speaker 5 uses the existential be and habitual aspect. The simple present tense form is used regularly and is broken by the use of the future modal can in sentence two. The total effect is one of coherence and compactness, a sign of a mature grasp of discourse devices.

(c) Use of proforms - Proforms are essential to avoid repetition of lexical items and an overmuch use of synonyms. Speakers of the **E1** group make a good use of these, especially the second and the fourth speakers: she, my, we, all, their and in the second instance all, their, then, here, and one.

(d) Referent - over here used by speaker No.4.

(e) Logical connectors - Speaker No.3, uses altogether in summation and still for concessive effect while speaking about her baby sister; number 4 uses only for concessive effect, and Speaker No.5 uses instead of and but for contrast, anyway for concession and usually as an attitudinal connector.

4.2.4 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EM AND MM STUDENTS' ENGLISH

From our observations of the two categories of students, certain general principles of an expanded system and a reduced system may be established. These depend on two important features of spontaneous speech production: the ability to use complex structural forms and the ability to use lexical equivalents and syntactic devices to connect the sentences. Only a good grasp of these two abilities enables the speaker to converse with ease and coherence about any simple subject-matter within a familiar range of experience, not to speak of higher arguments and abstract reasoning. We may then sum up the strong points of the expanded system of the EM speakers as contrasted with the reduced system of MM speakers as follows :

The EM speakers have a more elaborate noun phrase and verb phrase system. In the verb phrase, they display a larger number of forms using the copula with the gerund, with proforms and with prepositional phrases. In the auxiliary phrase they freely use the negative and the modals and do not make mistakes

in tense and aspect as much as do the members of the other group. These mistakes are to be found in the earlier stages only. The MM students on the other hand seem quite weak in the use of the verb phrase. This may be the reason why they resort to simple sentences with the use of the copula, the simple present, or the present progressive, so often. There is already an indication of the use of the present progressive in place of the simple present form for habitual action in the speech of MM speaker No.4. She uses she is going to her home which is(in)Thevara instead of she goes to her home which is in Thevara .

In the use of the noun phrase too, there is evidence of greater variety in structure in the language of EM students. They use more forms such as ordinals, reflexives, participles, gerunds and proforms. The MM speaker seems to prefer the det.+noun, det.+adj or det+adj+noun forms; otherwise he/she chooses personal pronouns. The variety of proforms in EM speech is also wider. It prevents monotony of repetition.

The most conspicuous feature of sentence structures is the use of simple structure by the MM students among all the age groups (we also have in mind a number of examples not cited above). The EM students (not the beginners) use more complex forms. For instance, they use both co-ordinated and subordinated structures. The use of subordination includes complementation, relativization and a mixture of the two

with the same sentences. Multiple co-ordination is also in evidence. In other sentences we see evidence of the use of topicalization at the age of 7, and the use of nouns in apposition by a 12 year old. In the case of EM students there are a few examples of complex clauses but they do not seem to be spontaneously produced for meaningful use. The speaker repeats the same forms in both the written and spoken versions of the test. More than anything else, the inability of the EM speakers to speak extempore exhibits the need for a proper internalization of complex rules of sentence construction, especially when they reach the senior classes. (It is surely in order to remark that in the case of three senior students of an EM school, the speech was utterly incoherent and not a single sentence which was intended to be complex was correct).

Where sentence connection and coherence of speech is concerned we have given examples of various logical connectors, the use of aspect, proforms, and lexical sets, in the EM language performance. These are many more than in the case of the IM group of speakers.

4.3 THE EFFECT OF BILINGUALISM AND SCHOOL LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE OF EURASIAN AND NON-EURASIAN ENGLISH - A SUMMING UP

Despite the obvious superiority the EM speakers seem to enjoy over the IM speakers in our sampling, we have argued

that the mother-tongue English is not very distinct from the second language English of non-E speakers who had the benefit of EM education. This becomes strikingly obvious if we judge them in terms of their distance from a standard mother-tongue form of English, viz., British English. The degree of control over English the two major groups display, in fact, can be directly correlated with the amount of bilingualism they have; in this context this simply means the amount of Malayalam they use. The fact that even the so-called 'mother-tongue' speakers of English also have Malayalam in their competence accounts for the 'acquired' notion of their mother-tongue, leaving the variation in performance to be accounted for by, among other things, the extent of influence Malayalam is allowed to exercise in their lives. About 19% of the Eurasian subjects in our sample (see Section 2.3 of this chapter) use Malayalam in their daily lives as much as they use English. About 4% to 5% of them use hardly any English at all. The rest of the E's try to use only English. Their productive performance is not very much affected by regional language patterns.

Among the non-E's it is not at all common to find a family that uses English for purposes of primary socialization at home or with members of their own society. As a result, the non-E products of EM schools also display influence of Malayalam in their English. We therefore put these two categories of speakers, the EM non-E's, and the 19% bilingual E's, into the

class of Balanced bilinguals (BB). This acknowledges the fact that even those few E's who do not have High School education are able to speak English with a neutral pronunciation and with some amount of facility in grammar as a result of their socialization with the large majority of E's who generally go to MI schools. This category also includes those E's who do have a formal High School education but speak English that has been partly modelled on the grammatical patterns of their parents/grand-parents, who are/were predominantly speakers of Malayalam. The tendency to use deviant grammatical forms is strong among this class of BB Eurasian speakers.

Besides the English-dominant (E-D) Eurasians and the bilingual E's and non-E's who are products of MI schools there is a third category of speakers who not only use deviant forms and Malayalee English stylistic patterns but also show evidence of a restricted knowledge of complex sentences and phrase structures and a limited vocabulary. They often commit errors not acceptable even to adequate local speakers of English (see Section 4.3.3 of this chapter). Their pronunciation is full of regionalized phonetic forms. We shall call them Malayalam-dominant (M-D) speakers.

4.3.1 E-D SPEAKERS AND THEIR ENGLISH

The English-dominant speakers are almost monolinguals. They hardly use any Malayalam if they can avoid it. Their

orientation seems to be moderately pro-western and highly instrumental in nature. They manage to keep their English free of much regional language influence, and for this reason, their English is closer to the standard than any other local variety. A couple of examples of the type of English these speakers use provide evidence of an adequate grammatical system generating structures, which are complex both within and between the sentences. The sentence connectors are manipulated with ease, and there are no deviant forms in use. The pronunciation is neutral in the sense described in Section 4.1 of this chapter.

Eurasian E-D Speaker No.1 :

"Of course, we've had Fort Cochinites getting the grant. We had to do a lot of spade-work in order to help them to get it. And I can assure you that more than 98% of the graduates of Cochin have studied under the government grant, because Anglo-Indians as a rule cannot afford very much. I think the main reason is they are too pleasure-loving. Their background is like that. Most of them can manage above board, so the thought of the future has not come in. It is hereafter that our children will have to struggle because they'll have to contend against a situation, against people in India who are in a much higher position and scale than they are".

Eurasian E-D Speaker No.2 :

"Then after my daughter finished her High School in St. Mary's

Convent, she went to Stella Maris where she did her H.A. in English. Teddy went to St. Joseph's College where he finished his B.Sc. in Maths. The youngest went to Loyola. They're both very good sportsmen too. One was captain of the hockey team. I should say it was a family effort. The children had an aptitude for learning, and they were made to think that High School was not the end of everything, that they have to compete, the world is very competitive".

4.3.2 BALANCED BILINGUALS

The second category of Eurasian speakers are balanced bilinguals. They use both the languages even at home, but the frequency with which they switch from language to language differs from person to person. There may be some among them who are careful in their speech more than the others. On the whole, the influence of Malayalam shows in their style, and in the use of deviant grammatical forms. Among this group of Eurasians, the ones who have not had much formal education in English use more deviant forms than the others. Even where the children have had a formal education in English in the AI schools their English is influenced by the patterns used by their parents. In pronunciation they are close to the ED speakers but the tendency is to slip into the syllable-timed rhythm of Malayalam and the rise-fall contours, are more prominent. The label "balanced" by which we name this category of speakers does not connote "co-ordinate" but "bilingual" in

the sense of using near-equivalent forms of Malayalam to facilitate the switch from one language to another.

Eurasian BB Speaker No.1

"English, they used to speak! Because actually if you go to see, their mother-tongue was Portuguese like. So, when they talk, there would be difference in their speaking, like hard pronunciation of certain words. But once they come to the Anglo-Indian school, from the baby class they speak good English, and you don't make out the language from ours. There is no difference in their speaking, because one person also told us, she was telling, very strict in the convent and all that. But I said the strictness will show in your children. Because, if not like that, how will they ever learn? Because, small as they are, this English they speak so well, that pronunciation and all".

Local Features of Spoken English :

(a) Topicalisation is a common feature in British informal English. In the local Fort Cochin style this is very frequent possibly because it is common in Malayalam also. Eg., "English, they used to speak". The topicalised word is said with a rising tone (refer Section 4.1.1 of this chapter).

(b) The fronting of adverbials : This is a common stylistic feature in BB English, and seems to reflect the profusion of fronted adverbials in the regional language. Adverbials are fronted in BE also, but not all the time.

- (b1) Actually, if you go to see, their mother-tongue was Portuguese like
- (b2) So, when they talk, there would be difference in their speaking
- (b3) Because, if not like that, how will they ever learn
- (c) The use of transitive verbs without their object N's :

- (c1) She was telling, 'very strict in the convent' and all

It's repeated use of tags and connectives and its restricted vocabulary is not special to the BB system; even some E-D speakers may show these features. What is special about BB English is its imitation of the patterns of Malayalam. A profusion of such patterns can be controlled only by the speaker's knowledge of an expanded grammar. A BB speaker with a reduced system naturally displays a larger number of these, than the others.

Durasian BB Speakers No.2 :

The following is an extract from the tape-recording of a conversation by the members of a BB Durasian family. The grandparents often use Malayalam in their conversation. However when they are speaking to children they consistently use English. The grandfather asks his grandson Andy: "Babba, want this?" He holds out a toy to the child. Andy is restless and the grandfather tries to pacify him: "You're a big man. You sit down on the chair". One of the other members of the family now speaks to Andy: "Who bought and gave?" indicating

the toy in Andy's hand. Andy replies, "Nanna (his grandmother) bought and gave". Just as he begins to get up and run across the room, his mother shouts at him: "You'll run and fall down". The toy, which is an imitation of a fowl is handed to Andy by his aunt who teases him saying: "Tell your father to buy and give you living fowl". The grandfather immediately adds: "The fowl will fly and go", and everybody laughs.

The above speakers use progressive ing with verbs considered stative to denote habitual action instead of the simple present form. They also use many symmetrical and asymmetrical conjunctions. These features are found in the rest of the conversation. The topic veers to the dismissal of their servant. Andy's mother relates the reasons why she had to dismiss the woman: "She's wanting me to do everything. She was asking Mary to draw and bring water from the well and all that. She was ordering. I told her when I go out and come (translates into Malayalam) you will tell me 'Andy is running this side and that side, I can't do the cooking'. She's not doing any work, simply sitting in front and reading newspapers, calling out and telling everybody".

(a) Over-generalisations of the co-ordinate verb form -

(a1) Who bought and gave?

(a2) You'll run and fall down

(a3) The fowl will fly and go

(b) Using stative verb with an ing form -

b1. She's wanting me to do everything

(c) Using the progressive for characteristic activity -

c1. She's not doing any work, simply sitting in front and reading newspapers

c2. (she's) calling out and telling everybody

These speakers have a neutral pronunciation.

Among the non-E speakers it would be possible to find E-D ones, but they are the exception rather than the rule, because their cultural norms do not allow the use of English where Malayalam can do the job. Generally speaking, the non-E's may be grouped into the BB category of speakers. Those who have been to English medium . schools have an expanded system of grammar and a neutral pronunciation. They are more close to the BB Eurasian speakers because of the different degrees of Malayalam language influence in their English. (In the last category of speakers, the M-D, the characteristics of BB speech, plus one or two other characteristics may be found).

Non-E BB Speaker No.3 :

"I'm very happy, because I found I could handle English better. That's one disadvantage with students here, coming from all Malayalam schools. You take about two years to catch up with English. After Britto's, I went to Cochin college. For two years, I took my predegree there. That's a newly started

college. It's run by the Cochin Society. The people here wanted a college and requested the government to open one. But they failed. Then the moneyed people got together they made a Cochin Educational Society ... That is, only one year, there was P.U.C. After that I joined Sacred Heart's for my B.A. in Sociology major. But I'm a little bit interested in politics and all these things".

(a) Fronting of the adverbial adjuncts :-

(a1) For two years I took my predegree there

(a2) That is, only one year there was P.U.C.

(b) Use of the progressive for characteristic activity -

(b1) ... students here, (who are) coming from all Malayalam schools

The speaker has a fairly expanded grammatical system and a neutral pronunciation but the rhythm of speech seems to be more syllable-timed than that of the E-D speakers (refer to Section 4.1.1 of this chapter).

4.3.3 MALAYALM DOMINANT SPEAKERS

We shall find in the two examples below the characteristics of M-D speakers among the non-E's.

Non-E M-D Speaker No.1 :

"Nature of work means, we'll have to take the whole of property tax, revenue collection. Ah yes, that's house tax.

Corporation has to collect huge amount by way of property tax. Each and every buildings we'll have to assess, and we'll have to collect the tax".

Non-B M- Speaker No.2 :

"Here we got only testing - getting complaints from subscribers and testing and sending the linesmen to rectify the, about the phone is not working and some dial is out of order. I'll have to supervize them all. No, the operators will take the complaints. They'll pass to that outdoor section. And after that there are some operators to send the linesmen too. We two only, two women supervisors. Supervisors, that eh, by 15 or 20 years service you'll get supervising. English also we're using. Hindi we are not using. Trunk calls dealing in Ernakulam".

Characteristics of BB speech plus frequent signs of a reduced grammatical system are evident in the English of Malayalam - dominant non-B speakers.

(a) Topicalisation - Here it involves frequent preposing of the object noun phrase,

(a1) Each and every buildings, we'll have to assess

(a2) English also, we are using

(a3) Hindi, we are not using

(a4) trunk calls, dealing in Ernakulam

- b) The dropping of direct object NP's -
 - (b1) They'll pass to that outdoor section
- (c) Use of progressive ing for habitual action
 - (c1) English also, we are using
- (d) Use of the habitual prediction form for habitual action -
 - (d1) We'll have to assess, we'll have to collect the tax,
 - (d2) I'll have to supervize them all
- (e) Omission of articles -
 - (e1) Corporation has to collect ... tax
- (f) Omission of the copula -
 - (f1) We two only
- (g) No control over complex structural forms in instances like the following -
 - (g1) sending the linesmen to rectify the about the phone is not working

Where the passive form ought to be used the speaker uses the progressive: Trunk calls dealing in Ernakulam. The progressive seems to be used profusely wherever the speaker finds difficulty in handling the English verb system, as in the example just pointed out.

Unlike the non-E products of the ~~EL~~ schools, these speakers use a more regionalised phonetics and syllable-timed rhythm.

Intonation contours are not a particular feature of the group as much as it is of individual bilingual speakers. For instance in our data we have instances of BB speakers who have more of these rise-fall intonation contours than the M-D speakers. However these contours are rarer in the performance of E-D speakers.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Orientation to English language learning does not have a clear correlation with performance because exposure to the proper models seems to be more relevant to proficiency in speech along with the foundations acquired in school. It is even possible to have a highly pro-western orientation and have a much reduced system of speech. Bilingualism, as we have tried to show, does affect local English by bringing into it Malayalam stylistic patterns and other features. Finally, the cultural background provides models of neutral pronunciation even to those Eurasian speakers who do not have an opportunity of being educated in English Medium schools. And because the schools provide both the exposure and the models during the most impressive years of language formation, it may be said with some amount of confidence, that medium of education in our sociolinguistic environment is more important to adequate proficiency in English than any other single factor.

Chapter Five

POPULAR GRAMMATICAL USAGES IN COLLOQUIAL DISCOURSE

SOME EVIDENCE OF AN INTERLANGUAGE

0. In the hundred years or more during which English has been used as a first and a second language by the people of Fort Cochin, it has developed certain phonological and grammatical features which give it a somewhat local character. In the previous chapter we attempted to provide some evidence of these local features in E and non-E sound patterns of English in varying degrees of approximation to British English phonology. We also incorporated the notion of approximation in our view of EM and MM school English as expanded and reduced systems with varying degrees of grammatical errors (Section 4.2, Chapter Four), the latter being highest in the speech performance of MM students and least in EM students. We then linked the school acquired systems to the mother-tongue and second language varieties of speech which were classified into English-dominant, Balanced bilingual and Malayalam-dominant varieties, according to the degree of regional language influence in each. In this chapter we shall try to investigate in further detail the regional language influences in the popular grammatical sub-systems of spoken English of all three categories of speakers: E-D, BB and M-D, in order to estimate the nature and degree of approximation of each of these categories to British English and to

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Malayalam. The total picture which emerges would then give us a view of mother-tongue and second language English as stages in a series of approximations to British English or interlanguages incorporating British English and Malayalam features.

We have selected for examination those forms from local colloquial English which seem highly frequent in occurrence, and permit certain amount of deviation as a result of Malayalam influence. The frequency of occurrence of these popular forms seems to be the result of two important factors : these are, the adaptability of these forms to easy switching from one language to another, and their suitability for ease of utterance and comprehension in informal spoken English.

The deviations in Fort Cochin spoken English are generally grammatical forms which are over-generalized and under-differentiated through psychological processes of language learning (see "Interlanguage" by Selinker in *Error Analysis* 1973). Some of these forms were further influenced by "interlingual identifications" (Uriel Weinreich 1953). They were further stabilised in the productive performance of the speakers owing to the limitations in the learning environment of Fort Cochin. The speaker models were generally members from the same speech community, and there was no scope for exposure to native-speaker models.

The deviations may seem to be in some cases close approximations to Malayalam forms of grammar. But on the whole the

influence of Malayalam is subtle : there are slight changes in structures, some changes in the interpretation of verb-meanings and some changes in the choice of aspects. (see Section 9.1 of this chapter) These do not seem to be much different to some of the variations that we find in Indian English elsewhere.

While the non-deviant forms occur more frequently in E-D English (see Section 4.3.1 of Chapter Four) they are also shared by the BB and H-D speakers. The greater frequency of occurrence of these in the last two categories of speakers may be attributed to the fact that these particular forms facilitate bilingual switching in day-to-day use.

1. THE USE OF CO-ORDINATION

1.1 THE CO-ORDINATED VERBS

In informal British English (BE) there is a small class of verbs which function as the first conjunct in a set of co-ordinated verbs : stop, go, come, try, hurry up, run, sit, stand and lie (positional). They occur in sentence types like the following :-

- (a) I'll try and come tomorrow
- (b) She sat and talked about the good old days
- (c) They went and fished
- (d) He stopped and talked

Quirk, Greenbaum and others in A Grammar of Contemporary English (1972: 616) call these semi-auxiliaries. Try, sat, went and stop have too much specific meaning in themselves to be regarded as auxiliaries. But in the given contexts they act as auxiliaries by subordinating themselves to the verbs come, talked, fished and talked, respectively. At a superficial glance these co-ordinated verbs seem to be examples of symmetric conjunction where two complete sentences are conjoined in the deep structure by and :

(a1) I'll try tomorrow and I'll come tomorrow

(b1)* She sat about the good old days and she talked
about the good old days

(c1) He went and he fished

(d1) He stopped and he talked

(b1) is plainly ungrammatical, while (a1) (c1) and (d1) possess conjuncts each of which is a complete clause in itself; but when the conjuncts are conjoined their meaning cannot be understood to be equivalent to those of the reduced versions, (a) (c) and (d). The conjuncts do not contribute to the utterances as a whole the meanings that they have in isolation. Such is not the case with actual symmetrical conjunctions.

1.2 SYMMETRICAL CONJUNCTIONS

(e) She washed and dried the dishes

(f) The boys sang and danced for a long time.

(g) Children trust and obey their parents as a rule

(h) You don't have to scold and beat the child

(e) to (h) are reduced versions of underlying structures which consist of two full sentences conjoined by and; repeated items have been elided but are uniquely recoverable. For example, (e) is derived from (e1) She washed the dishes and she dried the dishes. The separate conjuncts contribute to the utterances the meanings that they have in isolation. In (e1) she and dishes have been elided to form a compound sentence. This is an instance of symmetrical conjunction.

We have been trying to show that though co-ordinated verbs and symmetrical conjunctions are alike in the surface structure, at the deeper level they are not the same. There is another simple test to prove this by applying the adverb both to each of the compound sentences :

(e2) She both washed and dried the dishes

(f2) The boys both sang and danced for a long time

(g2) Children both trust and obey their parents

(h2) You don't have to both scold and beat the child

This test does not succeed with sentences where co-ordinate type verb forms are used :-

(a2) *I'll both try and come tomorrow

(b2) *She both sat and talked about the good old days

(c2) *He both went and fished

(d2) *He both stopped and talked

All the sentences above prove to be ungrammatical.

A final proof to show that these co-ordinated verbs are like semi-auxiliaries is that they can take inversion, negation with do periphrasis or modal auxiliaries, and they also take the so proform.

(a3) Will you try and come tomorrow?

Will you try and will you come tomorrow? (The meaning changes in this case)

(a4) I will not try and come tomorrow

I will not try and I will not come tomorrow. (The meaning changes in this case also)

(a5) I'll try and come tomorrow and so will you

I'll try tomorrow and so will you, I'll come tomorrow and so will you (Meaning changes again).

1.3 ASYMMETRIC CONJUNCTION

In cases of asymmetrical conjunction there is no need for elided items to be uniquely recoverable. The motivation for co-ordination need only be a semantic one. Semantically the only restriction is that the contents of the clauses should have sufficient in common to justify their combination (Lakoff R. "If's, And's and But's about conjunction". Fillmore and Longendoen 1971). For instance the second clause may be a consequence of the first :

- (i) The house caught fire and the inmates were trapped
The second clause may be only chronologically sequent without a cause -result relationship :
- (j) She washed the clothes and she hung them out to dry
The second clause may be a pure addition to the first :
- (k) That's my school and it's a grand building
The first clause may be a condition of the second :
- (l) You tell me why and I'll speak about it

1.4 THE USE OF CO-ORDINATION BY FORT COCHINITES

The speech performance of Fort Cochinites is profuse with co-ordinate structures of all three varieties. It is generally believed that in informal conversation co-ordinate forms are used in preference to subordinate ones. They seem to be easier to control. The following are some of the examples of co-ordination used by E-D speakers :-

- (m) When I went to play he got and pinched me
- (n) It went and crashed against the reservoir
- (o) They asked us to come and work with them
- (p) I took my books and studied

The co-ordinate verb forms used by the BB speakers do not always conform to native-speaker patterns but seem to deviate somewhat from the TL through the process of over-generalisation and analogy. Many of these overgeneralised forms seem to closely approximate the participle + main verb and main verb + auxiliary forms in Malayalam.

1.5 THE INFLUENCE OF MALAYALAM

The grammatical forms which seem to have a role to play in the use of deviant co-ordinate structures in local English usage are adverb participle + main verb and main verb + auxiliary structures in Malayalam.

The adverbial participle is a verb which qualifies another verb (George, K.M. 1971). When two or more verbs come together in a single sentence only the last gverb is the finite verb. The adverb participle comes generally before the finite verb but it may also be removed to a position away from it.

Eq. (a) $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{a}L$ $baib\bar{e}L$ $po:yi$ $kaNtu$

we Bible went saw

= We went and saw the Bible (a movie)

po:yi is a participle here and $kaNtu$, a finite verb.

b $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{a}L$ $po:yi$ $baib\bar{e}L$ $kaNtu$

we went Bible saw

= We went and saw the Bible

po:yi is away from the main verb $kaNtu$ but the meaning remains the same.

The adverbial participle in the past tense has an alternative form with ittu (which is also a past participle of $i\bar{t}u$ (put)). ittu just strengthens the participle without changing the meaning much.

(c) naññal po:yittu baibel kañtu

we went Bible saw

= We went and saw the Bible

In Malayalam the same verb form may act as a main verb, a participle and also as an auxiliary. Auxiliaries "support, assist and augment other verbs and in doing so create all kinds and shades of meaning" (George, K.M. 1971). In functioning as an auxiliary a word like po:yi loses much of its original meaning went, so much so it is difficult to translate it. An auxiliary follows after the main verb:

d. aVah aVala sne:ñiccu po:yi.

he her loved ?

= he loved her

It is significant to note that these participle + main verb and main-verb + auxiliary forms are translated by Fort Cochinites as coordinate verb forms or conjoined clauses. (The tendency to keep the verbs linked together is very strong). Whereas in po:yi kañtu the translation into English is done by retaining

both verbs We went and saw the Bible, in sne:ñiccu po:yi, where po:yi is an auxiliary, the translation will not include went:

*He loved and went her. In many cases the literal translations of participle + main verb forms and main verb + auxiliary forms become deviant. (The translations given in this Section 1.5 correspond to F.C. bilingual utterances, especially of BB and M-D speakers.

(e) a:ru Va:ñniccu tannu

who bought gave

= who bought and gave (see Section 4.3.2, Chapter Four).

tannu in Malayalam may be the main verb or the auxiliary depending on the intention of the speaker. There are a set of verbs in Malayalam ittu taru, iri etc which may act both as main and auxiliary verbs. It is difficult by surface structure to say how it is functioning unless the intention of the speaker is clear. In the above case if the speaker wanted to say who bought it for you then tannu (gave) would be an auxiliary in function. If the meaning is who gave it to you after buying it then the main verb would be tannu and Va:ñniccu would be a participle modifier. As the next example shows, tannu seems to function as an auxiliary

(f) baLbθ ittu taru

bulb put give

= Put and give the bulb

In F.C. speech (refer Section 4.3.2, Chapter Four) it is translated as Bulb, put and give. The intention of the speaker was to say Fix the bulb for me and not put it (in some box) and give it to me. In this case ittu functions as the main verb and taru as an auxiliary. In the translation used by the bilingual Bulb, put and give give has the function of a dummy auxiliary and not a main verb as it should be in the case of co-ordinated verb forms.

What we would like to suggest is that these forms are the result of a simplification strategy which utilizes both over-generalisation of TL rules and close identification with regional language forms.

When the main verbs and auxiliaries take on the progressive aspect in the participle + main verb and the main verb + auxiliary structures some amount of difficulty is experienced in giving a close translation of Malayalam forms.

- (g) po:yi etukku (part.+ m.v.)
went take = go and take
- (h) po:yi etukkunnu (part.+ m.v.)
went taking = going and taking (and not *go and taking)
- (i) po:yi etukkum (part.+ m.v.)
went take+will = will go and take
- (j) paRaṇṇu taru (m.v. + aux.)
told give = tell and give
- (k) paRaṇṇu tarunnu (m.V. + aux.)
told giving = telling and giving (and not
* tell and giving)
- (l) paRaṇṇu tara:m (m.v. + aux.)
told give+will = will tell and give

These co-ordinated progressive forms seem to be not only influenced by Malayalam in this fashion but in another significant way also. In Malayalam, characteristic action

is stated by using the unnu + uNtu forms which are translated into progressive be+ing forms in local bilingual usage. unnu is the present tense suffix in Malayalam and uNtu means being and acts as an auxiliary here (the English utterances are those of F.C. bilinguals)

- (n) aVan ella d:VasaVum kLa:sə po:Yi etukkunnuNtu
 he every day class went taking+be
 = he is going and taking classes every day.

- (n) na:n cilappo:L kaNakkə eyuti kotukkunnuNtə
 I occasionally accounts wrote giving+be
 = I am occasionally writing and giving the accounts

In short, deviant forms in co-ordinate verbs and conjunctions of clauses may be accounted for by the following reasons :

- (a) overgeneralisation of co-ordinate forms that already exist in informal BB (2) the tendency to translate literally the participle + main verb and the main verb + auxiliary structures from Malayalam into English; (3) other influences, such as the use of unnu + uNtu for showing characteristic activity, affect local usages of these forms. There is a profusion of them in the speech performance of BB and M-D speakers of Fort Cochin (See Appendix Two page for more examples).

2. THE THIN LINE BETWEEN HABITUAL ACTION AND HABITUAL PREDICTION

In our observation, one of the most interesting results of the close contact between English and Malayalam has been the local usage of the habitual prediction form in English where B. teaches us to use the habitual action form to show characteristic activity.

Prediction in B. may be either

- (a) Specific - The game will be over by now.
- (b) Timeless - Rotten vegetables will smell.
- (c.) Habitual - He will always flirt with the girls during the long evenings.

If we omit the future marker will and say Rotten vegetables smell or He always flirts with the girls in the long evenings we are using the simple present tense to state an action which generally happens, but we do not emphasize that it will definitely happen. The difference is only a slight one of emphasis. This is perhaps the reason why F.C. bilinguals often mix the two forms indiscriminately even when their intention is not specifically to be predictive. For instance here are some of the utterances elicited during interviews with members of E and non-E groups:

- (d) I have breakfast every day at 8 O'clock
- (e) I'll get up at 6.30 and study till 7.30
- (f) I get up quite early by 7 O'clock
- (g) Generally we make fish curry
- (h) Sometimes when the teachers find out, they'll punish
- (i) Afternoons when I come home I'll play with him
- (j) I'll study for one hour, after that I'll go with him to
to the beach and go to class

These examples illustrate the tendency of bilinguals to mix the two different aspects, habitual action and habitual prediction, thereby indicating that there is little semantic differentiation between the two uses in their cognitive system. The reason for this seems to lie in Malayalam grammatical forms.

In Malayalam the suffix um, which is a future marker, is used to show :

Future definite - na:n o:fissil po:kun

I office+in go+will

- (k) = I will go to the office.

Universal truth - su:rya:n kiYakkə udikkum

sun East rise-will

- (l) = The sun will rise in the East.

Habitual action - na:n ella:diVasaVum pattumaNikku

I every day 10 O'clock

o:fissil po:kunnuNtə

office+in going+be

(n) = I am going to the office at 10 O'clock, every day.

na:n ella:diVasaVum pattumaNikku o:fi:ssil po:kun

I every day 10 O'clock office+in go+will

(n) I will go to the office at 10 O'clock every day

In sentences (k) and (n) the un suffix is used to indicate future definite, and habitual action, respectively. When used to indicate habitual action either the context itself or the presence of a time adverbial makes the meaning clear. Additionally, it may be noted that the progressive marker unnu+uNtu, as shown earlier is also used to show characteristic activity or habitual action. In local Malayalam, both forms are popular. This is possibly why the habitual prediction form with will is often used by Fort Cochin bilinguals in informal speech. This is perhaps also the reason why the M-D speakers in particular use the be+ing form in their speech instead of the simple present.

2.1 THE CHOICE OF ASPECTS IN FORMAL AND INFORMAL CONTEXTS

Those bilinguals who are familiar with all the three forms, standard and non-standard, seem to prefer the simple present in formal contexts like class room compositions, letter writing and the like. In spoken English all the three forms are used. It is rather noticeable, that the deviant forms, the use of will and be+ing for characteristic action are used much more frequently by BB and M-D speakers.

In fact, M-D speakers use the two forms most often (see Section 4 3 3 of Chapter Four).

We give below what seem to be examples of this choice of formal and informal standards of grammar in the performance of two bilingual Eurasians. Both are senior students of local AI schools, of average intelligence, and of somewhat similar background socio-economically. They try to recreate scenes from two popular movies as they are seen to take place on the screen. The first example is a sample of written English. The context was a formal one. The boy was being tested for his language proficiency in the classroom.

(a) "Just then the girl gets frightened and faints. Now Dracula drags her out from the road and pushes her into the bushes - A few minutes later a grave-digger comes that way and Dracula stops and asks him:

'Do you know Harry?' Grave-digger: 'Yes, I do'

Dracula: 'Bring him to me, at this spot, when the clock strikes twelve.'

In the second instance the context was an extremely informal one. The tape-recording of this speech took place in the home where both listener and speaker were known well to each other and on informal terms. The latter seemed to enjoy narrating the antics of Vinod Khanna, a popular actor in the Hindi cinema:

- (b) "Vinod Khanna will go to the park. That time he'll meet this girl. She'll be ordering from the menu. He'll also go and sit with her. He'll also eat with her. Instead of her paying the money he'll pay the money. He'll keep a hundred rupees on the table. She'll be thinking how rich he is and all. She'll go".

In the first extract the writer meticulously uses only the standard simple present form. In the second extract many features of local usage are present :

- (c) The predictive form - 'Vinod Khanna will go to the park'
- (d) The predictive form combined with progressive ing
She'll be ordering from the menu
- (e) The co-ordinate verb form - "He'll also go and sit with her".
- (f) The tag - She'll be thinking how rich he is and all
 (for information about the use of tags by F.C. speakers see Section 8.3 and 8.4 of this Chapter).

As the proficiency level in speaking moves from an expanded to a reduced system the frequency of the deviant forms increases, and the question of a choice between the formal and the informal register even ceases to exist. We have noticed this phenomenon in our interviews with a cross-section of speakers. The speech of M-D bilinguals is full of the habitual prediction and progressive forms while that of BB speakers is also a mixture of both, but the degree of their frequency is less.

3. THE ACCOMMODATING PROGRESSIVE - ing

The progressive ing in English is a very flexible form. Probably for this reason foreign speakers of English find it very useful to use it in English utterances especially when they do not have a mastery of a sufficiently large number of English grammatical structures. J. Scheffer in his comprehensive study of The Progressive in English (1975) seems to agree with this point of view. He particularly refers to the popular use of these progressive forms in non-native English.

According to Scheffer, more than 60% of the verbs in the progressive system express limited or restricted duration. To show duration seems to be its most common function. Besides process, continuation, incompleteness, simultaneity, it also shows vividness of description, emotional colouring and emphasis. And with the addition of adverbs like always and continually they show characteristic activity or habitual action :

- (a) Johnny is bathing - Action in progress
- (b) He is typing his own letters these days - limited duration
- (c) She is always coming late to class - habitual action
- (d) I was reading a book - incomplete activity
- (e) She has been sleeping ever since she arrived -
stretching back into the immediate past.

- (f) He is joining the army soon - future action
- (g) Father is leaving this afternoon - immediate future

Bilingual speakers with an expanded system show all these forms of use in their speech :

- (h) I am staying in Cochin - action in progress
- (i) I am at present teaching in Delta School - limited duration
- (j) I'm continuously trying - characteristic activity
- (k) They were telling my mother to get me married - incomplete activity, referring to the past
- (l) Still I'm trying to go but no opportunity is available - stretching back to the past
- (m) I intend going for higher studies - future action
- (n) I want to know whether you are going now - immediate future
- (o) We were enjoying Government grant - reference to the past.

As the above sentences show, the progressive form in English grammar is a handy tool for speakers of the language. But there is also a good amount of overgeneralisation of TL rules in this respect in F.C. bilingual performance in English. Among the more conspicuous of these overgeneralised types we get the deviant use of stative verbs.

3.1 DEVIANT AND NON-DEVIANT USES OF STATIVE VERBS

We have stated earlier that the primary function of the progressive in English seems to be to express duration.

Duration according to Scheffer (1975) is taken to mean "any period of time between (and including) the split second needed to perceive an action, state, occurrence, as being in progress and eternity (not including)." Whether or not the duration aspect can be used therefore depends on the semantic content of the verbs. Stative verbs, verbs of inert perception, and relational verbs are expected to avoid the progressive form in B7 usage. There are also exceptions to the rule and some of these exceptions are as follows :

When the stative verb is used in a temporary sense (Quirk et al 1972, Section 3.4).

- (a) Who is he loving now?
- (b) I am seeing the principal today.
- (c) When it is used in an active sense :
- (c) He is smelling the bottle to find out what it contains.
- (d) I am thinking of you all the time.

E-D speakers in Fort Cochin may not be heard saying I am believing you or This car is belonging to me, I am not seeing it, but these deviant forms have been heard among M-D speakers. Both E-D, BB and M-D speakers use such forms as :

- (e) I'm having a headache.
- (f) I'm feeling very sad about it.

- (g) I'm hoping to go home.
 (h) I'm wondering how you managed to do it.
 (i) These items are costing a lot of money.
 (j) He is owning a car.

and so on.

The use of these verbs in the progressive does not seem to be affected by Malayalam usage. (The examples are from F.C.English)

- (k) I'm wanting to go home

enikkru vi:ttil po:kaNam.

I home+in go+must

= I must go home

= I want to go home (and not I'm wanting to go home)

- (l) I'm having a small job.

enikkru oru ceriya jo:li unt?

I one small job have(or have got)

= I have a small job (and not I'm having a small job)

3.2 DEVIANT PROGRESSIVE FORMS AND CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY

We discussed the use of characteristic activity in Section 1.5 of this chapter in connection with co-ordinated verbs and clauses. We shall go into this aspect of deviation in some more detail here.

It has been already mentioned in connection with the deviant use of habitual prediction (in Section 2 of this chapter)

that E-D speakers in Fort Cochin generally use the simple present tense to express habitual action. But owing to the influence of Malayalam, M-D speakers more often than not seem to prefer the use of the progressive instead of the simple present for habitual action in English. The progressive form may be used in BE for habitual action only if it is accompanied by such adverbs like always and continually. In M-D English these adverbials do not seem to be present. Here are some examples taken from the utterances of M-D (non-E's) speakers :

- (a) Everyday we are going there
- (b) People are saying faults about others
- (c) They are bringing lot of cash
- (d) Most of them are speaking English in their homes

In the examples given above, the emphasis on duration seems uncalled for. The speakers, in the formal context of the interview, and from the point of view of BE could have intended a mere objective statement of the above activities. As additional evidence of this observation we may point out that non-Eurasian speakers who acquire a relatively more expanded grammar in Anglo-Indian schools use the simple present form also. Here are some examples from the utterances of BE non-Eurasians :

- (e) No, I mix with all the castes
 (f) They criticize all who sing holy songs
 (g) We eat meat except on Sundays and Mondays

The influence of Malayalam may be seen in the use of the progressive for characteristic activity :

kuttikaL sku:Lil po:kunnu

Children school+in go+ing

- (h) =Children go to school

kuttikaL sku:Lil po:kunnuNtə

Children school+in go+ing+be

- (i) = Children are going to school

kuttikaL sku:Lil po:nuNtə

Children school+in go+ing+be

- (j) = Children are going to school

(h) is generally used in formal contexts such as in text books for children to familiarize them with the simple present tense form. (i) and (j) are colloquial forms used in Fort Cochin. The presence of the latter forms permits literal translations like the following :

- (k) ella diVasaVum nāññāL aVite po:kunnuNtə

every day we there going +be

= everyday we are going there.

- (l) aVar d^ha:ra:Lam paNam koNtu-VarunnuNtə

They lot cash bringing+be

= They are bringing (a) lot of cash

m. mikkaVarum ingli:sə aVarute Vi:tukaLil

most of them English their homes+in

samsa:rikunnuntə

speaking+be

= Most of them are speaking English in their homes.

In summing up this account of the popular use of progressive forms in local F.C. English we may call attention once more to the following points: the progressive form lends itself to the expression of numerous aspects of duration in time including past, present and future. It is reasonable to assume that this is an advantage to non-native speakers of English who would prefer a minimum number of grammatical rules, and their relevant forms, to express the maximum amount of meaning, especially in informal discourse. According to Scheffer (Section 3 of this chapter) there is a tendency among speakers of English in general, to use more and more of progressive forms, so much so, that a good number of verbs listed in orthodox grammars as stative are being used non-statively. Among Fort Cochinites this is certainly the case. In addition, the presence of the progressive form to express characteristic activity in Malayalam promotes literal translation of Malayalam structures into English with the result that we get many such deviant utterances. These deviations may be heard in the speech of BB speakers to some extent and to a greater degree in the performance of M-D speakers.

4. ANOTHER POPULAR FORM - THE VERSATILE got

It is possible that the people of Fort Cochin have somehow preserved this old English form have got and as time went on watered it down to got alone. Whatever may be the etymology of this word, it certainly has a special place in colloquial usage, for day-to-day verbal exchanges between Fort-Cochinites are interspersed with different forms of this verb. One reason for the repeated use of this verb seems to be its versatility. It lends itself to various syntactic functions, to many syntactic combinations, and also to different shades of meaning. We would like to assume therefore that it is an important item in the core vocabulary of F.C. English. By core vocabulary we refer to the set of lexical items which are quite functional in the day-to-day exchanges of life between members of a particular language group, and which contribute to a kind of in-group language.

4.1 USES OF get AS A VERB IN BE

get may be used as a main verb as well as an auxiliary. As a passive auxiliary get is a serious contender of be (Quirk et al 1972). It is usually restricted to constructions without an expressed agent and generally avoided in formal style. It is far less frequent than the passive be in formal English.

get is used as a copula in sentences like :

(a) You get angry so often

It seems to be a more colourful passive than be.

(b) The Israeli agent got killed by the P.L.O

Used with present participles get forms quasi-progressives as in the following :

(c) He got going immediately

As a semi-auxiliary got to is often used as an alternative to have.

(d) I got to leave this house very soon

As a main verb get can enter relationships in various types of clauses except the SV type:

(e) I got a present

- S+V+O

(f) She has got herself into trouble

- S+V+O+Adjunct
(prepositional)

(g) He got through the fire-escape

- S+V+Adjunct
(prepositional)

(h) The child got his clothes wet

- S+V+O+complement.

(i) His uncle got him a present

- S+V+I.O +D.O.

(j) They got toys for the children

- S+V+D.O +Adjunct
(prepositional)

With the addition of many different prepositions get forms phrasal verbs and substitutes for synonyms :-

get over, get out of, get through, get back, get up, get in, get into, get off, etc. (Advanced Learners' Dictionary of Current English - 1974).

4.2 THE USE OF get IN F.C. ENGLISH

Among F.C. speakers of English too, it has been observed that get as a verb showing possession is preferred to has and have only in informal style. In formal written exercises of students, both below and above the age of 12, we see that has and have predominate. When these written exercises include dialogues and letters one can find the use of get, possibly because these forms call for an informal style. In F.C. spoken English all categories of speakers, children as well as adults, use this form frequently.

get as a copula :-

- (a) You get fond of that particular flavour
- (b) Reverend Mother gets angry with them

As a passive auxiliary :

- (c) If there's a rough sea you get tossed about
- (d) I got employed in the Post and Telegraphs
- (e) When daddy got married to mummy she was nineteen years old

As a semi-auxiliary :

- (f) You got to invest (some money) also
- (g) You got to canvass (for) the job
- (h) You got to have your own workshop
- (i) He got and pinched me

As a phrasal verb :

- (j) I didn't get through, although I was fit
- (k) You will get back (the money), the same way
- (l) I get up quite late by 7 O'clock
- (m) They got together and started it
- (n) When we reached Shenoy's we all got down from the bus

Used with different shades of meaning :

- (o) I got the job in one month. (obtained)
- (p) I can get it from Ceylon (acquire)
- (q) I got the appointment retrospectively (was given)
- (r) He got his education in Santa Cruz (acquired)
- (s) He has got the records with him (has)
- (t) They got so many labourers working in the ship (there are)
- (u) It had got a certain standard when it was run by a Jesuit
(attained)
- (v) Christians got liberty and all that (have/enjoy)

4.3 DEVIANT USAGES

So far we have pointed out the non-deviant uses of get in F.C. English. We shall presently show that there are usages which seem to be confined to BE and M-D speakers particularly :

- (a) Auntie also got
- (b) Fish curry got
- (c) There are carpenters, then tailors; teachers also got

In the context in which these sentences were spoken it is difficult to say if the speakers intended to convey the sense of ownership or mere existence:

There are tailors; there are some teachers also.

In these sentences the verbs got may be equivalent in meaning to be,

(a) There is also an aunt

(b) There is also some fish curry

(c) There are some carpenters, some tailors; and some teachers are also there

This merging of two meanings is present also in the verb uNtu in Malayalam. uNtu as a defective verb carries the meaning be (existence) and get (possession). We may literally translate the Malayalam sentences below into the following deviant English forms :

(a₂) a:n[.]tiyum uN[.]tu
= Aunty also got

(b₂) mi:n kari uN[.]tu
Fish curry got.

(c₂) marapaNikarum, pinne, add^hyapakkarum uN[.]tu
= There are carpenters, then teachers also got.

We may also observe that the above Malayalam sentences carry their object NP's before the verb. Also in the same utterances the subject NP's are dropped :

ṇāṇṇaLkkə a:ṇṭiyuṇ uṇṭu:

we(dative) aunt got.

= We have got an aunt.

Colliding: ṇāṇṇaLkkə we get a:ṇṭiyuṇ uṇṭu. The same is the case with the other two sentences. This seems to be the reason why these speakers also drop the subject NP's in the given English sentences.

5. THE POPULAR VERB tell

Among the common core of discourse verbs in T.C. English none is perhaps more popular than tell. It comes in handy as a cover term for subtler shades of meaning which can only be expressed adequately by using a finer variety of vocabulary items in an expanded system or a more elaborate code of English.

- (a) He told me he is going to Palghat (informed)
- (b) He told me how to do it (showed)
- (c) He told us he had succeeded (declared)
- (d) The captain told us to stand at attention (ordered)
- (e) She tells then fairy stories (narrates)
- (f) The man told us stay away (warned)
- (g) The old lady is telling her beads (reciting)

5.1 MALAYALAM INFLUENCE

tell seems to be considered an equivalent of paṛannu.

The following are some of the possible combinations in

Malayalam where paRaṇṇu is used.

- (a) n̄a:n atu paRaṇṇu aVaṇo:ṭə
 I that told him+to
 = I told that to him
- (b) ra:maṇ po:kunnilleṇṇu aVaṇo:tu paRaṇṇu
 Ram going+not+that him+to told
 = Ram told him that he was not going
- (c) aVaL po:kaṇ paRaṇṇu
 she go+to told
 = She told (him/her) to go
- (d) aVaL aVaṇo:tu po:ka:n paRaṇṇu
 she him+to go+to told
 = she told him to go.
- (e) aVaL atu paRaṇṇu
 she that told
 = she told that (to him)
- (f) aVaL aVaṇo:tu paRaṇṇu
 she him+to told
 = she told him
- (g) naṇ paRaṇṇu
 I told
 = I told (him)
- (h) atu paRaṇṇu
 that told
 = (I) told (him) that

(i) aVa^{no}:tu paRa^{nnu}
 him+to told
 = (I) told him (that)

(j) paRayum
 tell+will
 = (I) will tell

(Note that the verb does not take an agreement marker according to the subject or object NP in Malayalam).

As we see in the examples given above, it is common to drop personal pronouns and object noun phrases when these items are understood between those participating in the conversation. This usage seems to affect the utterances in which tell is used in English by some BB and most M-D speakers. All the examples below, in which the indirect object is missing, are deviant forms used by Fort Cochinites

- (k) I'll tell (I will tell you)
- (l) If we tell to sit, it will sit (If we tell it to sit ...)
- (m) You tell, is it English or Malayalam? (You tell me ...)
- (n) I practised, I'm telling! (...I'm telling you)
- (o) One day my class teacher told in the class (... told us ...)
- (p) I will tell about ... (I will tell you about ...)
- (q) He told not to play. (He told her not to play)

5.2 AS USED IN NON-DEVIANT ENGLISH

tell is a ditransitive verb which can take both a direct object(D.O.)and an indirect object(I.O.). While most ditransitive verbs need the direct object when the indirect object is present, tell can occur with one of the two object types, except when the direct object happens to be a finite clause, an infinite complement, or a prepositional

The teacher told a story to the children D.O.+I.O.

The teacher told a story D.O.

The teacher told the children a story I.O.+D.O.

The teacher told the children I.O.

The teacher told him that she would
give him leave I.O.+D.O.(clause)

The teacher told them about the
forty thieves I.O.+D.O.(prepositional
phrase)

The teacher told them to go home I.O.+D.O.(infinitive)

6. DEVIANT FORMS CAUSED BY ELLIPSIS - SOME MORE EXAMPLES

Ellipsis is purely a surface phenomenon. It is commonly used as an abbreviating device that reduces redundancy. A major use of ellipsis in English, for instance, is in symmetrical conjunctions (Section 1.2 of this chapter). Elided words need not be always implied from the linguistic context but may also be implied from the situation. In colloquial

discourse this kind of ellipsis is quite common even in BT

- (a) Want to come along? - (do you is elided here).)

Ellipsis may also be motivated by the wish to focus attention on the remaining words :

- (b) A: Did you propose to her? B: Not yet - (I have not yet ...)

The dropping of NP's in the following sentences is not a device used in BT. It seems to be affected by Malayalam language conventions rather than by any need of focusing or other reason conforming to BT usage. They make the utterances quite deviant :

- (c) Put in that bag (Put it ...)

- (d) Doctor asked to take fish (... asked him ...)

- (e) He was in old age and all; then he stopped
(... stopped helping)

- (f) I think my cousins were helping (... helping him)

- (g) In school also, we won't find (... find it).

- (h) nā:n nīṭṭi

I stopped
= I stopped (it)

- (i) be:gil Voy'ṭku

bag+in put
= Put (it) in (the) bag

- (j) mi:n eṭuka:n paṛaṇṇu

fish take+to asked
= (He) asked (him) to take fish

- (k) ante 'kasins sɔHayiccirunnu
 my cousins helping were
 = My cousins were helping (him)
- (l) sku:Lilum kannaL kantupitiy'kukayilla
 School+in+also we find+no
 = In (the) school also we won't find (it)

7. THE USE OF enjoy

7.1 UTTERANCES BY E-D SPEAKERS

- (a) We really enjoyed our trip to Coimbatore
 (b) I hope you are enjoying yourself
 (c) I knew I was going to enjoy myself

Enjoy takes an object NP which may be also a reflexive pronoun. F.C. speakers who are Malayalam dominant use it intrasitively and drop the object NP.

7.2 DEVIANT UTTERANCES BY M-D SPEAKERS

- (d) We can enjoy there very well.
 (e) We enjoyed nicely
 (f) One way, I enjoyed

Those who are not very familiar with the English language mistake enjoy to be an intransitive verb. It is often equated with santo:riy'kuin Malayalam which is intransitive in nature.

E.g. hāhāhā hāllāp:lē santō:šiccu

we nicely enjoyed

= We enjoyed nicely (instead of we enjoyed ourselves well)

8. MISCELLANEOUS DEVICES IN COLLOQUIAL STYLE

8.1 THE DISLOCATED NP (D.N.P.)

In the colloquial style the subject or object is repeated by pronoun proxy for purposes of emphasis or focus. This is not uncommon among native-speakers of English. Wolfram and Fasold in the Study of Social Dialects in American English (1974: 171) mention the use of this feature. They call it "an effective stylistic focusing device in nonstandard oral narrative".

(a) D.N.P. repeated as the subject of a sentence :

(a₁) Even now, the Five Hundred, they won't allow it

(a₂) Then, we sisters, we are all separated

(a₃) Especially those mothers and fathers who have nothing to give them, they would like very much that the child be looked after

(b) D.N.P. repeated by proxy pronouns which act as object NP :

(b₁) Holy songs, we sing in front of God (The deity)

(c) D.N.P. repeated as adverb adjunct :

(c₁) Euston, I've been there just to join my ship

8.2 THE CATAPHORIC what.

F.C. speakers of E-D and BB categories use such exclamatory devices frequently :

- (a) Know what?
- (b) Guess what !
- (c) I don't know whether it was luck or what my children had an aptitude for studies.

What is the object of know in (a) and of guess in (b). In (c) also it is the object of know. These utterances seem to be the reduced versions of :

- (a₁) (Do you) know what (has happened)?
- (b₁) (You) guess what happened
- (c₁) I don't know whether it was luck or (whether it was something else ...)

There seems to be no Malayalam influence here.

8.3 COMPENSATORY TAGS

It is common for Fort Cochinites to use tag forms to compensate for the lack of more explicit details which may be required in an informal chat between themselves :

- (a) Methods may be all right, because they are trained and all that
- (b) They criticize people who sing holy songs and all that
- (c) Then he'll take their money and all, money and everything
- (d) I have stamps of different countries, of America and all.

3.4 AFFIRMATORY TAGS

These forms seem to reaffirm the speaker's or listener's point of view :

- (a) But you see they don't want to admit to our way of thinking (don't you see !)
- (b) They have lost their English background, you see! (don't you see!)
- (c) So the standard came down, you know (as you know).
- (d) We go and visit the poor houses, you know (as you know).

9. A SUMMING UP - AFFIRMATION OF AN INTERLANGUAGE

The results of our analysis show that F.C. English retains many BE grammatical forms. They are often used according to BE rules or usage. But some of the rules governing these forms have altered through processes of over-generalisation. Others have been affected through close approximation to Malayalam grammatical usages. All these forms with their accompanying rules of usage, deviant and non-deviant, seem to be a part of the common core of F.C. English rules and lexical items shared by all F.C. speakers irrespective of community.

The relatively greater frequency of deviant forms, especially those affected by Malayalam, in the productive performance of B3 and M-D speakers leads us to assume that these forms have become stabilized on account of their suitability for bilingual switching, from English to Malayalam and Malayalam to English.

9.1 THE INFLUENCE OF BE AND MALAYALAM ON F.C. ENGLISH :

A. RESUME

In the list of popular grammatical forms in F.C. English we have given a prominent place to the use of co-ordination. Co-ordination is a simpler grammatical process than subordination. As such, co-ordinate verbs, symmetrical as well as asymmetrical conjunctions seem to be preferred in informal spoken English where ease of utterance and maximum comprehension are at a premium. This is perhaps the case in BE also.

In BE only a small number of verbs are used as initial conjuncts in co-ordinated verbs. In F.C. English the set has been expanded to include other activity verbs such as take, put, dress, brush, fry, etc. This is partly because the resulting patterns are close to Malayalam. We have tried to show that participles which modify finite verbs in Malayalam (refer Section 1.5 of this chapter) are much like verbs acting as initial conjuncts in co-ordinate verbs. But partly this is also because in symmetrical conjunctions in English two verbs are conjoined. Superficially the adverbial participles in Malayalam are felt to be like the first verb in a symmetrical conjunction.

The tendency to overgeneralize the rule of verb co-ordination leads to a few extreme uses as in the case of put and give. We have shown (Section 1.5) that give seems to act

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The tendency to overgeneralize the rule of verb co-ordination leads to a few extreme uses as in the case of put and give. We have shown (Section 1.5) that give seems to act

like a dummy verb instead of a finite verb, though it always has some amount of meaning as an auxiliary in Malayalam. We tried to explain that taru (the co-equivalent) is an auxiliary in ittu taru (put and give) meaning (fix it for me). Hence the BE rule that retains a finite verb in a co-ordinate verb form is broken.

Next in the list of popular forms we have presented habitual prediction. This form is permitted according to BE rules (see Section 2). It is however not applied strictly according to BE usage. Bilingual speakers in Fort Cochin use it ordinarily where BE speakers would use the simple present. In other words BB speakers often use habitual prediction aspect instead of an objective habitual action aspect. Many E-D speakers continue the BE tradition while BB speakers mix the two aspects indiscriminately. This deviation in the use of the aspect is attributed by us to the use of um suffix (will) in Malayalam.

We may also point out once more (see Section 2) that F.C. bilinguals with an expanded system show an awareness of the need to use the formal-informal register.

The progressive, as used in BE is a very accommodating structural form (Section 3). It can be used to show different aspects of duration in time, including the immediate past and future, the present, and what is in continuation. It

has other functions too. F.C. speakers with an expanded system use this form according to BE rules, except in one case. BE tends to prefer the use of verbs of perception and relational verbs as statives, i.e. without the progressive ing form. In Fort Cochin many of these traditionally stative verbs are used non-statively: wanting, hoping, feeling, etc. No doubt some provision is made in BE grammar for the use of such verbs as love, smell, think, etc. as activity verbs. But the emphasis in traditional grammars has been on the non-use of the progressive with verbs which are understood to be stative. This emphasis is disregarded in our language-contact situation.

FC speakers with a reduced system use the progressive to state habitual action. There is provision in BE grammar to use it with such adverbs of time, such as continually or always. This rule is consistently broken by M-D speakers.

Another popular usage we have mentioned is that of got (refer Section 4). This form, which results from eliding have from have got, is a versatile one. We attributed its popularity to the versatility of its use - its ability to enter into many clause types and its usefulness as a cover term for many shades of meaning. It was pointed out that Malayalam influence may be partly the reason for the highly frequent use of the verb. Eg., uNtu (got) has both meanings be and has. So has got as used by FC bilinguals.

There is one use for which there hardly seems to be any provision in BE. This is the rule of dropping the object NP's with transitive verbs especially in the case of bilinguals with a reduced system. This rule is very common in Malayalam. Sentences without stated subjects and objects are acceptable because they are understood in the context of situation.

In the case of tags we do not see any particular influence of Malayalam.

In the above examples we have seen how grammatical forms which originate in BE have been retained and used according to BE rules in many instances, especially by E-D speakers, and generally by bilinguals with an expanded system. But changes have come about which are somewhat subtle in nature. The structures however remain basically English. The changes can be classified into the following types :

- (a) Changes in the structural forms themselves :
 - (a₁) Finite verbs in co-ordinate verb forms become dummy auxiliaries
 - (a₂) Transitive verbs drop their object NP's
 - (a₃) Progressive forms which are used for characteristic activity do not take adverbs of time like continually or always.
- (b) Changes in interpretation of verb-meanings.
 - (b₁) Transitive verb enjoy is understood as being intransitive

(b₂) inert verbs and relational verbs are understood as activity verbs.

(c) In the choice of aspects :

(c₁) the habitual-predictive is preferred to habitual action

(c₂) the habitual-progressive is preferred to habitual action.

In the previous chapter we pointed out the approximation of sound patterns to BE and Malayalam. In this chapter our emphasis has been on grammatical forms. This sums up our case for Fort Cochin English as an interlanguage.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSION

In this study of English as a mother-tongue and a second language in Fort Cochin we have attempted to look at the phenomenon of mother-tongue English from a new perspective, that of an "acquired" instead of an "inherited" language. The justification for this point of view is provided by the peculiar conditions in which English was gradually learned and used as a mother-tongue by the Portuguese and Malayalam speaking bilinguals of Fort Cochin from the end of the last century.

To throw into relief the fortunes of this Eurasian community and the implications of its mother-tongue phenomenon, we have simultaneously included in this study an account of the other communities of which the Malayalee Latin Catholics form the majority. These are the most important of all the non-Eurasian communities in our study on account of the fact that they are not only the largest group, but they are the most closely related to the Eurasians by virtue of having shared with the latter, the same language - contact situation, the same religion, most of the customs, the same educational and economic opportunities, for $5\frac{1}{2}$ centuries. This group was also motivated like the E's (Section 3, Chapter Four) to acquire English from nearly the same schools and at the same time.

Both had competence in the Malayalam Language (whatever Portuguese the E's retained was a corrupted version, implying that there was more of Malayalam influence in it). In other words, the differences between the two communities actually lay in the amount of English they used. Additionally, of course, English was by fiat (at the state level) accepted as the official mother-tongue of the E's, and the motivation to acquire it forced many of them to speak it without a formal knowledge of the working of its grammar. The fact that by this time many E's had been educated in E M. schools helped the community to provide models to the other members. In short, proficiency in English came to be judged in terms of the medium of education acquired in the local schools, the cultural background of the speakers, and the degree of bilingualism they practised. Our investigation has shown that both E's and non-E's have a high, medium, and low level proficiency, in the language. In other words, the mother-tongue phenomenon parallels the second language phenomenon. There can be no comparison with native-speaker countries where English is known and used in all spheres of day-to-day activity. Among mother-tongue speakers of English in Fort Cochin, therefore, what we do get are the English-dominant speakers, the fluent bilinguals, and the Malayalam-dominant ones.

One of the important findings of our study is that the English medium school is crucial for the existence of 'mother-tongue' English. By the application of the principle of

Applied Linguistics, that meaningful exposure to language is necessary and sufficient for mastering a TL, we have found that whereas the EM schools succeed in providing their pupils with the expanded system of English, the MM schools don't. We related the expanded and reduced system to the systems of E's and non-E's, and found that they correlated. This result has borne out Frank Antony's famous dictum that the Anglo-Indian schools are the life-line of the community.

Our investigation has also shown that cultural identity affects the pronunciation patterns of the two groups. Even those E's who have not had a formal EM education use a neutral pronunciation pattern. The non-E's use a more regionalized variety (Section 4.1, Chapter Four). Those who use the Eurasian pattern, do so, because in their language formative years they were exposed to E models at school. We would like to suggest that one of the important means through which the neutral pronunciation pattern is transmitted throughout the country, is the employment of mother-tongue speakers of English in many of the EM institutions established throughout India, especially in missionary schools, and in Frank Antony Schools. When many Anglo-Indian families left North and Central India, Fort Cochin teachers from the Eurasian community were easily assimilated into the above mentioned schools.

The different degrees of approximation to BE on the one hand, and Malayalam on the other, are inevitable in the

Fort Cochin language contact situation. Being an integrated society, (see Section 5, Chapter Three) compound bilingualism has affected the language considerably. Even the English-dominant Eurasians show in their intonation patterns, their tendency to slip into syllable-timed rhythm, and in the quality of vowels and consonants, the influence of Malayalam. A small degree of deviant grammatical usage is also present. The degree of deviant usage increases with the more frequent bilingualism of the E's. The result of this is seen in the subtle changes that have come about in the pattern of verb phrase structures, the interpretation of verb-meanings, and the choice of aspects. These findings put mother-tongue English into the category of second-language English with its cline of bilingualism and does not bring it close to the language phenomenon in other post colonial areas like the Bahamas, where the English language has changed more drastically into a creole or pidgin.

Our study shows two important reasons why English has escaped a similar fate. One reason is that the Eurasians were soldiers, schoolmasters, interpreters, builders, engineers and craftsmen, and took especially to sea-faring and white-collar jobs. Buying and selling was never their forte (Section 3, Chapter Three). In addition, the ecclesiastical authorities continuously protected the community, and in the days when they were bereft of political patronage and slowly

grew impecunious, they were somehow enabled to struggle on till they organized themselves with the Anglo-Indians of India. Neither they, nor the Latin Catholic non-Eurasians who were high in the social hierarchy (having been from the original Syrian Christian stock), learned their English from the market place. In fact the two communities seem to lead in literacy rate as a result of the educational efforts made by the religious organisations.

From a socio-psychological angle our study shows that the change-over from Portuguese-Malayalam (or simply Malayalam) to English, and the acquisition simultaneously of the behavioural patterns and dress of the Anglo-Indians had induced some deep-rooted anxieties among the section of E's who could not speak their "new" mother-tongue. They were led to play down their own proficiency in Malayalam, their Malayalee ethos, and ways of behaviour. Neither did the switch-over to English bring them any special advantage, in terms of proficiency in English.

English may have brought the Eurasians definite advantages in obtaining white-collar jobs and in mobility within the country and outside. But excessive concentration on the same at the expense of Malayalam has considerably damaged their chances to get an easy access to the masses. In contrast, the E's who are outside such anglicised pockets of influence, like Fort Cochin, devote their energies also to activities like

trade, industry, politics, trade-unions, etc., for which an excessive preoccupation with English and its concomitants of behaviour is not very helpful. However, the recent controversies about their mother-tongue is a hopeful sign of a new direction in leadership.

Finally, from the point of view of variation in Indian English and the need to establish a common phonology and grammar, we wish to suggest that F.C. English variants are not an isolated phenomenon. The neutral type of pronunciation used by Fort Cochinites shares many features with CIEFL's Indian English phonology. Co-ordinate and progressive verb forms also seem to be popular among other regional varieties of English. How far these are really pan-Indian features of spoken English grammar will be an interesting line of further enquiry.

Appendix One

A QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE INTERLANGUAGE BACKGROUND OF
ENGLISH - SPEAKING BILINGUAL NATIVES OF FORT COCHIN

Part one - General Background

1. Name (Surname only is important)
2. Age
3. Religion (specify which caste if a Hindu and denomination if a Christian)
4. Occupation (Tick the one which is applicable)

1. Administrative work	8. Law
2. Accounts	9. Stenography
3. Teaching	10. Machine work
4. House work	11. Contract work
5. Business	12. Agriculture
6. Studies	13. Any other type of work
7. Medicine	
5. Name of your father :
6. a) Place where he was born and brought up :
b) Father's employment :
7. a) Mother's Maiden name :
8. a) Place where she was born and brought up :
b) Mother's employment :
9. Did any of your ancestors come from outside Kerala or India. If so, specify the country and his/her language :
10. Which school did you/do you go to? Specify the medium of instruction received there. :
11. Which school did your parents attend? Name the school and medium of instruction received

School	Medium
--------	--------

Father

Mother

12. Which language do you use most of the time with

Your parents

Your brothers & sisters

Your best friends

Your neighbours

13. What language did/do your parents use with each other ?

14. Which is the language your grand-parents use/used

() between themselves

() with you

15. (The following questions are meant only for those above 12 years)

Rate the English of the following people in your circle if at all they used/use it in daily life in the spoken form

Father

Mother

Sisters & brothers

Relations

Favourite friends

Favourite neighbours

16. Which language did/do your school teachers use in the classes that you have passed :-

Lower classes

High classes

Always English

Always Malayalam

Both English and Malayalam equally

Mostly English

Mostly Malayalam

17. Did you/do you have a foreigner teaching you? If so, mention his/her nationality :
18. If your answer to question 17 is "yes" then say whether his/her English sounds different to you in either one or all of these aspects :
- () Pronunciation
 - () Grammar
 - () Rhythm
 - () Vocabulary
19. How do you evaluate the English of your teachers as compared to your own ?
- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|------------|----------------|
| English | Maths | Science | Social Science |
| teacher | teacher | teacher | teacher |
| Sch.-Coll | Sch.-Coll. | Sch.-Coll. | Sch.-Coll. |
- Much better
- Better
- Almost the same
- Worse
20. For Malayalam medium students/ex-students only :-
- a) How many periods a week did/do you study English language and literature (an approximate if not exact number, will suffice)
 - b) Name the English poets/novelists/play-wrights that you have read at school
 - c) During school days were/are you in the habit of reading books in English that were not meant for passing the examination? Mention the names of a few favourite comics/journals/magazines/novels
21. For English medium students/ex-students only :
- a) How many periods a week (an approximate if not exact number will do) did/do you study Malayalam language and literature at school?

- b) Name the Malayalam poets/novelists/playwrights that you were taught at school. (If your second language was different, mention it).
- c) If you were/are in the habit of reading comics/journals/magazines/novels in Malayalam, mention the names of a few favourite ones.

22. In general what is your order of preference for the following writers (Mark 1,2,3 etc., to show it)

- () Indo-Anglian writers
 () Malayalam writers
 () British writers
 () American writers

23. Which of the following activities at school or home do you enjoy more? (Mention the language used).

Language Used as a child	Language Used as an Adult
--------------------------	---------------------------

Reading silently

Reading aloud

Reciting poems

Dictation

Writing compositions
and letters

Singing

Playing games

Acting in plays

Chatting

24. Have you been to College? What language did you use at College? Has there been a change in your preference for these activities from what it was in the old days. If so mention the change.

25. Which language newspapers do you read?

26. If you listen to radio broadcasts, musical programmes and commentaries to which station do you generally tune in?
- ☐ All India Radio (mention the language)
 - ☐ Sri Lanka Broadcasting Service
 - ☐ The B.B.C.
 - ☐ The Voice of America
 - ☐ Radio Australia
 - ☐ Any other station (mention the language).
27. Which movies do you see generally :
1. English 2. Malayalam 3. Hindi
28. What is your parents' attitude towards your learning English?
- ☐ Highly encouraging
 - ☐ Encouraging
 - ☐ Indifferent
 - ☐ Positively discouraging
29. What is your parents' attitude towards your learning Malayalam?
- ☐ highly encouraging
 - ☐ encouraging
 - ☐ indifferent
 - ☐ positively discouraging

Part Two - Affective Factors

1. a) Do you think Indians should study English?

() Yes () No

If your answer to 1 is yes, tick off the reasons :

b)

- () English introduces us to a rich and refined culture
- () It provides one with better chances to mix with foreigners here and abroad
- () It provides better job opportunities
- () It is socially more prestigious
- () It gives the latest knowledge in Science and the arts
- () It is necessary as a link language in India.

2. a) Do you think Malayalam should be taught compulsorily in your school?

() Yes () No

If your answer is yes, tick off the reasons :

- () Malayalam is the language of Kerala
- () The Malayalees culture is rich, varied and part of our life.
- () The study of Malayalam will help us appreciate our own culture and life as against western culture and living.
- () English is gradually losing its importance in India
- () It is necessary to communicate with the people of the state
- () I am not interested in working outside Kerala

3. What is your opinion about people in your environment who use no English at all

- () They are uneducated and backward in their views;
- () They are thoroughly nationalistic and anti-western in their views
- () Any other reason (mention it)

4. Do you think that a too highly developed interest in the English language and culture is

- (a) beneficial for the Indian mind
- (b) harmful for the Indian mind and national consciousness
- (c) neither

If (a) tick off the reasons :

- () It makes for better integration with the advanced culture of the west.
- () It develops a critical attitude towards outmoded values and morals.
- () It is helpful in the generation of a more conducive environment for the development of science and technology, and hence for the speedier development of the country.

If (b) tick off the reasons :

- () It makes one less appreciative of one's own language, culture and society.
- () One gets emotionally unrooted from one's own society and culture.
- () It builds up reactionist and antisocialistic tendencies because the English language and culture is a medium for American and British ideals and culture.

5. What do you think are the purposes for which your children need to learn English :

- () reading books, journals etc;
- () to converse with the English speaking members of their own community;

- () to hold one's own with the educated Indian public at large;
- () to have sufficient knowledge of English for office work such as typing and corresponding;
- () for writing creatively ;
- () to be able to go abroad for higher studies.

6. Would you prefer your children to be taught English at school by

- () a British or American speaker of English;
- () someone educated at an English Medium school;
- () anybody appointed by the school

7. a) Do you think there is

- 1. a Kerala variety of English,
- 2. an Indian variety of English,
- 3. or just one variety used by the British/American/Australian native speakers of English?

b) If your answer to the above question is either the first or second which one do you think should be taught in the schools?

8. What would be your reaction if all English Medium schools were told to teach in the regional language and to teach English only as a third language?

- () I would feel very upset about it.
- () I would feel quite happy about it.
- () There is nothing I could do about it so I would not worry.

Appendix Two

ADDITIONAL DATA ON BILINGUAL SPEECH

1. CO-ORDINATE VERBS AND CONJOINED CLAUSES

- (a) Then I go and brush my teeth
- (b) Let him go and see
- (c) Why did you ever go and say that your father isnnot dead
- (d) Try and make as many moments creative in your life as you can
- (e) We try and do what we can though we can't do much
- (f) The lady came and chased and he was running to the wall
- (g) You have to sit and wait if there's any balance (cash)
- (h) The cunning fox took and ran away
- (i) She told and gave and Sofia wrote it
- (j) When we come she kiss and serve the food and all
- (k) Ossy's son ran and went off into the train
- (l) No shame and all for that girl to wear and go
- (m) Jewellery and all they rob and go
- (n) My mother makes food everyday and gives us
- (o) If we dress nicely and all and go then they speak badly
of us
- (p) They all will be sitting and chatting

2. THE USE OF HABITUAL PREDICTION INSTEAD OF HABITUAL ACTION FORMS

- (a) The ladies of the Moplah people will wear mundu and our
own people will wear saree

- (b) I'll study for one hour and after that I'll say our prayers and then have supper and go to bed.
- (c) If we speak and anyone sees us they'll have a black mark against us
- (d) If the house is not thatched it will be thatched
- (e) They'll imitate their teachers, the teachers will find out

3. THE USE OF THE PROGRESSIVE ing FOR CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY OR HABITUAL ACTION

- (a) Every day we are going there
- (b) St. John's we're using crackers and everything
- (c) Most of the places Onam they are celebrating
- (d) Most of the Pathan peoples are not putting cloth on their heads
- (e) People are saying faults about others

4. DROPPING THE OBJECT NP'S

- (a) The teacher told to eat the sweets
- (b) The teacher told about the forty thieves
- (c) He told not to play because his mother would bite
- (d) I will tell about the five "findouters" (in this Blyton's stories)
- (e) I'm sorry to tell about the standard of English
- (f) All of them, from 1924 onwards, I can tell

4. THE DISLOCATED NT

- (a) Then, we sisters, we all separated
- (b) Especially those fathers and mothers who have nothing to give them, they would like very much that the child be looked after
- (c) Then the moneyed people, they got together and started it
- (d) Latins also, they won't marry them
- (e) But even now, the Five Hundred, they won't allow it

5. COMPENSATORY TAGS

- (a) In the evenings we have bhajans and all that
- (b) They are bus owners and have fisheries and all that
- (c) Christians got liberty and all that
- (d) When I finish my duty I have a beer with them and all that on board (the ship)
- (e) Then he'll take their money and all, money and everything
- (f) I like to go like that once, simply to see and all
- (g) That time, uncle and all brought the fruits

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